HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Why Nixon Should Worry About Wallace

By TED LEWIS

What George Wallace has to say about the Nixon Administration has far more political significance than what Hubert Humphrey says or any other name figure in the Democratic party, for that matter.

This is because GOP party leaders consider Nixon a shoo-in for a second term in 1972, provided Wallace does not find it politically expedient to be a third-party candidate for the presidency again.

With Wallace out, the GOP blueprint for victory in 1972 would be based on a sweep of the South, most of the West and some of the Middle West. With Wallace in, many party political experts believe he would cut more deeply than he did in 1968 into basic GOP strength generally and in the South in particular.

A rerun of 1968, it is felt, would end up in 1972 with Wallace carrying far more Southern states than the four he did last time, or so split the conservative vote that the Democratic nominee would win Dixie states that went for Nixon last year.

On this basis Wallace's challenge to the Administration to make good on its promises, or else, is of prime long-range political importance, especially as it came in his first nationwide television appearance after returning from Viet Nam with the opinion that the war was "winnable."

In his Meet the Press interview on November 30 Wallace said that he found that Vice President Agnew and others in the Administration were giving lip service to most of the key issues that he, Wallace, raised in 1968, and if the Administration ended up acting the way it has talked, he saw little reason to seek the presidency again.

Wallace referred specifically to his demand for lower taxes, for law and order, for local school control, and a "win" solution to the Viet Nam war.

In unusually temperate language, Wallace said he believed that Nixon and Agnew were trying to eliminate him as a 1972 threat by keeping him from running for governor successfully next year. The Humphrey-Muskie wing of the Democratic party was similarly trying to "destroy" his political future, he added.

If there was any doubt that Wallace was not determined to be governor again for national political reasons, he pretty well eliminated it when he said: "If I were to run for governor and win, it would mean that Mr. Nixon and Mr. Agnew must act. If I lost, they could continue to talk and wouldn't have to act because our movement would be dead."

What is it that disturbs the Administration, politically, about the Wallace threat? It certainly has shown evidence it has been disturbed, for Agnew's recent attacks on television and press handling of Washington news, on the "snob" and extremist character of the anti-war moratoriums almost mimicked what Wallace said last year. Similarly, the Administration has shown its determination to polarize its Southern strength in the Haynsworth Supreme Court nomination and the Justice Department's policies on school integration.

There seems little doubt that what disturbs the Administration, in looking ahead to 1972, is that if it flops on various key issues, the most formidable opposition will be on the right, not on the left.

Take the law-and-order issue. There is more crime running rampant than ever before. On Viet Nam, the Administration's policy of gradualism could, by 1972, turn out to be generally supported by the doves, with the hawks effectively urging escalation to get the war over quickly.

Former Gov. George Wallace makes a point during a recent television interview. Wallace has jokingly said that he should have copyrighted his 1968 campaign speeches since Nixon and Agnew are saying many of the things the Alabamian said at that time. Many political analysts think Wallace could well be a factor in 1972 if the Administration disappoints conservatives.

And if inflation is still uncontrolled, and a host of other problems like school integration unsolved, then a turn to the Wallace right would be more likely than a swing back to the Humphrey-Muskie brand of liberalism.

There already have been signs that, if the times are still out of joint in 1972, Nixon's renomination would be contested. Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, according to the best tipsters, wants to be re-elected next year primarily because he still has White House aspirations.

The South wanted Reagan in 1968 more than it wanted Nixon. It got Agnew as a sop.

Wallace got almost 10 million votes in 1968. His appeal was basically to middle and low-income groups. He ran best in the small towns—and in areas with high Republican registration. And it should not be forgotten that various election trend experts like Richard M. Scammon have not overlooked the possibility that Wallace in 1972 could even win the presidency, if the mood of the country remains depressed over Nixon failures to solve the nation's complex problems.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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Capital Briefs

● Nixon confidants say it won't happen, but there seems to be a serious move within the Administration to persuade the President to name Secretary of State **William P. Rogers** to the Supreme Court and replace Rogers with Nelson Rockefeller. Political observers, however, say such a move would blow the "Southern strategy" sky high, since both Rocky and Rogers are both considered liberals and would make extremely convenient targets for Democratic conservatives and Wallaceites.

● Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott has hired a new legislative assistant: he's **Saul Kohler,** the liberal columnist for the Philadelphia Bulletin. Aside from being a testy critic of the Nixon Administration, Kohler has proposed the creation of a new Warren Commission—this one to investigate the Pinkville massacre.

● The White House, say political insiders, has just about made up its mind not to reappoint **Sam Zagoria** to the National Labor Relations Board when Zagoria's term expires in mid-December. Businessmen will be pleased if that decision sticks since Zagoria, a former administrative assistant to New Jersey's Clifford Case, is said to have handed down too many "pro-union" decisions.

● John Lindsay lost a major election last week when the National League of Cities chose as its future president Indianapolis Mayor **Richard Lugar,** who gives the Nixon Administration enthusiastic support. Lugar drew heavy support from Southern, Midwestern and Western officials, outpolling Lindsay 376 to 281. The vote was for the office of vice president, but it is customary for the vice president to be elevated to the post of president after one year.

● Sen. **George McGovern** (D.-S.D.), who bleeds all over the place about innocent Viet civilians getting killed in U.S. bombing raids, was a bomber pilot himself in World War II. South Dakota politicos say McGovern used to parade himself as a sort of war hero when he first entered the political arena some years ago.

● Housing costs will continue to skyrocket if the **powerful construction unions** get their way. In Chicago, contractors have been socked with union demands that would hike wages and benefits 80 per cent in three years. The union demands, if accepted, would raise some workers' salaries to $23,600 a year.

● Moscow has stepped up its **"Hate America" campaign** with virulent broadcasts to the Middle East. Powerful transmitters inform Arab listeners that President Nixon is an agent of Israeli "aggressors" who want to "pirate" the oil resources of "occupied Arab territory."

● Sen. **Hugh Scott** (R.-Pa.) is greatly irritated by reports he has been hearing about Atty. Gen. John Mitchell's critical remarks at recent Washington social gatherings. Mitchell has been outspoken in his belief that Scott has been doing a very poor job as leader of the Senate Republicans.

● Twenty-nine members of the **Students for a Democratic Society**—including National Secretary Mark Rudd—were indicted last week on charges stemming from the group's October rampage in Chicago. The SDSers, all members of the so-called Weatherman faction, were arrested during an orgy of "revolutionary violence" in which police were stoned, windows smashed and pedestrians terrorized.

● Three New York leftists—charged with conspiracy to **bomb government installations** and high rise office buildings—benefited last week from a gala fund-raising affair at a Times Square hotel. "Celebrities" who hosted the rally included beat poet Allen Ginsburg, underground "actress" Ultra Violet, and editor Paul Krassner of the Realist. (For more on radicals and sabotage, see page 8.)

● Federal officials admitted last week that the Mafia had deeply penetrated the Newark, N.J., offices of the **Internal Revenue Service.** Investigation uncovered an "unmistakable pattern" of payoffs in which Mafia chieftains were protected from audits and field investigations.

● Rep. **William Scherle** (R.-Iowa) has taken after Iowa's junior senator, Harold Hughes, for declaring that the massive November march on Washington —staged by supporters of North Viet Nam—was "a great sight, a beautiful sight." "I respectfully suggest," said Scherle, "that the next march be held in Hanoi and that Sen. Harold Hughes report to us firsthand what sort of response the North Vietnamese give to a motley crew of demonstrators marching down their avenue, tearing down their flag and replacing it with Old Glory."

● Reporting on a **nationwide telephone survey** of 1,154 Americans over age 21, CBS said only one of four advocated immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Viet Nam, while three-fourths identified themselves with the "silent majority" President Nixon spoke of in his Viet Nam policy speech of November 3.

● **Joe McGinness,** who wrote that hatchet job on President Nixon, "The Selling of the President 1968," voted for radical-leftist Dick Gregory for President. McGinness has also referred to the United States as a "vision of hell."

● Rep. **Albert Watson** (R.-S.C.) is under heavy pressure to run for governor next fall. Sen. Strom Thurmond and other GOP leaders are convinced that Watson, a hard-line conservative, would have little difficulty defeating Lt. Gov. John C. West, considered the Democrats' likely nominee.

● The **AFL-CIO** has sent a letter to every senator urging the defeat of Sen. Paul Fannin's (R.-Ariz.) amendment to strip away the tax-exempt status of any organization engaged in politics.

● Democrat **Richard Scammon,** a nationally known expert on public opinion, says that if President Nixon ran for re-election today he would carry 48 of the 50 states. "Right now Nixon has a massive majority behind him on Viet Nam," says Scammon, JFK's director of the census. "And I use the word 'massive' with care." Scammon, a polling consultant for Newsweek and NBC, said that Nixon would win by "a larger margin right now than Lyndon Johnson had in his landslide victory over Barry Goldwater in 1964."

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Knives Sharpened for Mitchell

The liberal apparatus has begun a concerted, nationwide effort to politically polish off Atty. Gen. John Mitchell. As Mitchell's decidedly conservative influence on the President has grown, so have the polemics against him, now reaching a shade of white fury. In the last few weeks the attorney general has received a ferocious bombardment from the Eastern Establishment press, including the New York *Times*, the New York *Post*, the Washington *Post* and such nationally syndicated columnists as Evans and Novak and Mankiewicz and Braden.

MITCHELL

Fresh and bitter assaults are also being mounted by the academic community and the offensive from the left is not likely to die down anytime soon.

The liberals' dismay with Mitchell is not exactly a stunning surprise. A strong symbol of conservatism within the Administration, Mitchell has pressed for a wide assortment of programs and actions that are anathema to the liberal community.

Mitchell, for instance, has recommended the appointment of conservative judges to the bench and was instrumental in persuading the President to go down to the wire with Clement Haynsworth. He has taken a strong stand on the crime issue and has even asked Congress to pass preventive detention legislation. As President Nixon's campaign manager in 1968, he pushed a "Southern strategy" and he has been a key figure in the Administration's pursuance of this line now that it's in office. And while he has been hampered by the courts, he has made a strenuous attempt to alleviate some of the burdens of those "instant integration" edicts directed toward the South.

The attorney general has also been under a volley of criticism for his anti-subversive stand. He has helped to reactivate the Subversive Activities Control Board, has displayed a toughness toward street demonstrators and has refused to recoil from threatening potential troublemakers with the anti-riot provisions of the 1968 Civil Rights Act.

In brief, John Mitchell has understandably made the liberals livid.

Because of its deep dislike for Mitchell on ideological grounds, the liberal community is now feverishly trying to manufacture a national scandal out of Mitchell's refusal to allow Dr. Ernest Mandel, quaintly described in the news media as a "Belgian Marxist," to enter this country.

The New York *Times* termed the act a form of "blacklisting" and ventured to say that "The idiotic decision to bar Dr. Mandel must be reversed." Columnists Mankiewicz and Braden, incorrectly stating that Mandel's first name was George, then proceeded, also incorrectly, to push the notion that Mandel was a friend of the West, just a "philosophical Marxist" who was a "leading critic of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia." "Intellectuals" across the country are now rallying to Mandel's defense.

The facts about Mandel, however, are somewhat different. Far from being a tame Marxist philosopher, Dr. Mandel is a convinced revolutionary who has been trying to stir up a Marxist-Leninist revolution both in Europe and the United States. An editor of the Belgian weekly *La Gauche*, he was a main instigator of the student riots and workers' strikes in France in May and June of last year. Because of his participation in these events, he has been banned by the French from entering that country.

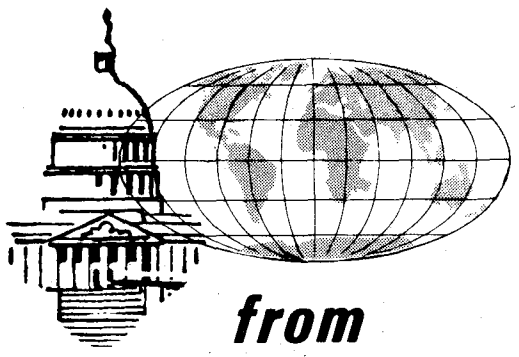
A leading member of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyite organization, Mandel and his wife, Gisela, spent two months in the United States last year speaking at some 50 colleges and spreading their doctrine of revolution. They also conferred with American Trotskyites in secret, closed-door meetings.

At the University of Pennsylvania, Mandel claimed that "Students should organize in force because the time is ripe to overthrow the capitalist system and bring about a change within the framework of Marxist-Leninist theory."

At the International Assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements, held September 18-24, 1968, at Columbia University, Mandel lectured the assembled radicals in how to transform the revolt against the university into a general revolt against the entire structure of society.

A week earlier Mandel had delivered similar fiery rhetoric to a group of pro-Communist scholars at

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

Rutgers University. Columnist Alice Widener, who covered the event, quoted Mandel as saying: "Students are the detonators in the formula for triggering off a social explosion creating a revolutionary situation." To resounding applause, said Miss Widener, Mandel made clear how he and other Socialists employ Marxism-Leninism as the device for timing, controlling and targeting the explosion.

Mandel said the main strategy for overthrowing neo-capitalism in advanced industrial nations, including the United States, is "to put forth, through mass strikes and mass movements, concrete demands and goals which are unacceptable to the capitalist system and cannot be granted within the capitalist system."

Mandel's wife, Gisela, has also been active in revolutionary causes and helped found an anarchist group in Berlin. Both profess a close friendship with young radical "Red Rudi" Dutschke, who named his only son after "Che" Guevara and instigated bloody riots in West Germany last year. Mrs. Mandel has also visited Cuba with her husband —at Castro's invitation—and received a "rugged" course in guerrilla warfare there.

When Mandel was barred from visiting this country last month, his strident voice still could be heard November 29 at Manhattan's Town Hall, where the revolutionary Socialist Scholars and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation sponsored an all-day conference. The conference theme: "Agencies of Social Change: Toward a Revolutionary Strategy for Advanced Industrial Countries."

Mandel's speech, broadcast from the stage via tape recorder, told the 1,300 assembled radicals: "As a revolutionary Marxist you cannot destroy capitalism piecemeal, you can abolish the structure only by overthrowing it, not by reforming it." Mandel also called for "a revolutionary vanguard organization to lead workers to a decisive showdown with the bourgeois class."

Despite all this, however, the liberals are ganging up on Mitchell because—unlike Ramsey Clark—he has refused to waive the law against the admission of revolutionaries and grant a visa to Dr. Mandel.

• Mandel's attorney, it is interesting to note, is Leonard Boudin, partner in the firm of Rabinowitz and Boudin, 30 East 42nd St., New York City. Boudin has a known affinity for left-wing causes and clientele. Aside from defending Communists, Boudin, in 1968, was on the board of directors of the National Lawyers Guild and general counsel to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, both cited as Communist fronts by congressional committees. In 1966 he sponsored a testimonial for Dr. Herbert Aptheker, chief theoretician of the Communist Party, U.S.A. In the same year he also contributed to the campaign of Robert E. Treuhaft, also an identified Communist. While Boudin denies membership in the Communist party, he refused to swear to government officials in 1954 whether he had ever been a CP member in the past.

The 1967 attorney general's report to Congress on the administration of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, lists the Rabinowitz and Boudin law firm as an agent for Communist Cuba. Both Boudin and Rabinowitz had originally tried to avoid registering, as required by law, but the Supreme Court compelled them to do so in a decision handed down in 1964.

Demo Chairman in Trouble

Democratic National Chairman Fred Harris bombed in Harrisburg last week. Keynoting the annual dinner of the Pennsylvania Democratic organization, Sen. Harris (D.-Okla.) drew only 367 people, one of the smallest turnouts in the history of the event.

HARRIS

But Harris is equally unpopular back home. Elected to the Senate as a moderate, Harris has swung hard left in the past several years and now faces an uphill battle for re-election in 1972. "There is no question that he has lost some support," admits Democratic State Chairman J. C. Kennedy.

That's an understatement. A poll conducted in several state newspapers shows 94 per cent of those responding dissatisfied with Harris' performance and favoring his ouster.

In 1964 Harris rode LBJ's coattails to a narrow, 51 per cent victory in his first Senate campaign. Two years later, again campaigning as a middle-roader, Harris was elected to a full six-year term with 53 per cent of the vote.

Since then, Harris has antagonized many Oklahomans with his increasingly liberal voting record. In 1967 the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* found him voting for a "larger federal" role on every major rollcall, a record matched by only three other Senate Democrats. His active participation on the Kerner Commission—which blamed "white racism" for big city riots—annoyed other constituents.

But much of the antipathy towards Harris can be traced to his amazing turnabout on Viet Nam. As long as Lyndon Johnson was in the White House, Harris gave all-out support to the Viet Nam war. As co-chairman of Hubert Humphrey's presidential drive, Harris helped beat down the "peace plank" at last summer's Democratic National Convention.

But in recent months, Harris has earned the epithet "turncoat" from several Oklahoma newspapers. Not only has he called for a unilateral cease-fire and stepped-up troop withdrawals, but he has endorsed massive street demonstrations against the war.

His actions and statements, notes the Washington *Post*, suggest "a political judgment by Harris that this time around, the Democratic party should be clearly identified with the youthful protesters. . . ."

This observation has been made in Oklahoma as well. After Harris addressed an October 15 Moratorium at Oklahoma State University, a local newspaper columnist—who had supported him in 1966—

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was severely critical of the senator in an article entitled, "Shame on Fred Harris."

Thus while Harris—who nurses presidential ambitions—is currying favor with hippies and demonstrators, he may be digging his own political grave in Oklahoma. "He is way ahead of us," says an Oklahoma City political writer. "But I don't think Fred could win an election here now or in '72."

Possible opponents for Harris in 1972 include Gov. Dewey Bartlett, State Atty. Gen. G. T. Blankenship and Pat J. Patterson, the GOP senatorial candidate in 1966. Harris may face primary opposition as well.

Rights Zealots Look Northward

Sen. John Stennis (D.-Miss.), who says fairness demands the breaking up of "segregated" schools in the North if the campaign against the South continues, may be a lot closer to his wish than is currently realized.

In a little-noticed speech before the National Civil Liberties Clearing House last month, Leon A. Panetta, director of the Department of HEW's Office of Civil Rights, suggested he would leave no stone unturned to prove that what many believe are naturally segregated school patterns in the North (de facto segregation) have, in fact, been deliberately created (de jure). Such "proof" would then bring the Northern schools under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

These remarks by Panetta, once an aide to former Sen. Thomas Kuchel, clearly indicated he is hoping to "throw the civil rights book" at the North. If he gets his way, it is being said, educational fund cut-offs, compulsory busing and all the other paraphernalia that is being used to attack deliberate segregation in the South will be employed to assail unplanned segregation in the North.

Even before the evidence is in, Panetta's mind appears to be made up. He contended, for instance, that "there are few if any pure 'de facto' situations . . . . Sure, racial housing patterns may coincide with school attendance patterns by race, but which came first and how was the school boundary drawn? What role, if any, did pre-1949 racial covenants in FHA-loan housing play in these housing patterns? There are many avenues which have not been fully explored that I promise will be, before any Northern school system we examine can be called truly 'de facto.'"

His division, said Panetta, has "been in over 50 districts in the North, and over 12 are now being considered for administrative action. As a result of a 1968-69 National Survey, over 500 Northern districts have been targeted as possible problem areas for future investigation. We are beginning a full field review of San Francisco, the first city over 500,000 in population where we expect to stay on the job until we determine that the city school system either is or is not in compliance with Title VI."

Aside from the questionable legality of any such finding of segregation, any massive disruption of neighborhood schools in the North could have serious political repercussions. As one aide to a Northern congressman remarked, "The Administration will really be in trouble if Panetta is allowed to mess up the Northern school systems the way he and his predecessors have messed up the Southern ones."

Cong Quote Peacenik Congressmen

An untold story behind the House of Representatives' overwhelming (333 to 55) vote last week in favor of President Nixon's current Viet Nam policy concerns a tactic used by Texas Democrat Jim Wright to round up support.

WRIGHT

Wright circulated among his House colleagues a five-page memorandum consisting of portions of the verbatim transcript of remarks by Communist representatives at the Paris peace talks. In each of these instances, taken from 24 separate negotiation meetings held this year, a Communist representative—from either Hanoi or the Viet Cong—quoted a prominent U.S. House or Senate member to buttress the Communist side in the talks and/or to assault the U.S. negotiating position.

Because of pleas from other members and in order not to personally embarrass the individuals quoted, the Wright document had blanks in place of the names.

Human Events, however, from other sources has obtained an uncensored copy of the transcript. Among the congressmen cited by the enemy in Paris were: Senators Young (D.-Ohio), Kennedy (D.-Mass.), Pell (D.-R.I.), McGovern (D.-S.D.), Fulbright (D.-Ark.), Hatfield (R.-Ore.), Gore (D.-Tenn.), McCarthy (D.-Minn.), Cook (R.-Ky.), Javits (R.-N.Y.), Hartke (D.-Ind.), Moss (D.-Utah) and Aiken (R.-Vt.), as well as Representatives Chisholm (D.-N.Y.), Findley (R.-Ill.) and George Brown (D.-Calif.).

The transcript, for instance, notes that in the second peace talks session on January 30, an NLF representative quoted Sen. J. W. Fulbright as saying: "The foreign policy of the United States is brutal and bellicose." That same day a North Vietnamese delegate quoted Sen. Edward Kennedy: "They [the Saigon government] do not want to satisfy the demands of the population. They only want more money and more lives to sacrifice. . . . It is a powerless and corrupt administration."

This remark by Sen. George McGovern, who now aspires to the presidency, was used against the U.S. negotiators: "We cannot use the blood of American youth to save a corrupt regime like the regime to which the United States is tied in Saigon."

Sen. Mark Hatfield was quoted on April 3 by an NLF delegate: "It seems to me that it is clearly deception to ask American public opinion to believe that it is the enemy that is responsible for the escalation of the conflict. . . ." And so forth.

Clearly, Wright's ploy, even without the names, had its effect. During the debate on the resolution several House members voiced their desire to put Congress on record in support of the President in order to counter the propaganda effect accruing to Hanoi by those U.S. legislators who, for whatever reason, opposed the Nixon Viet Nam approach.

The House resolution did just that. The declaration "approves and supports the principles enunciated by the President that the people of South Viet Nam are entitled to choose their own government by means of free elections," endorses the gradual withdrawal of American troops and opposes any "coalition" form of government forced on Saigon by the Communists.

Coming as it does at a time of renewed criticism over U.S. troop activities in South Viet Nam and intensified assaults on the President's gradual withdrawal-Vietnamization policy, the House resolution was both a boost for Mr. Nixon and an effective weapon against Hanoi's best propaganda—the words of U.S. members of Congress.

• Following are the 55 House members who refused to vote for the Administration-backed resolution favoring "peace with justice in Viet Nam." All are liberal Democrats with the lone exception of non-mainstream Republican Ogden Reid of New York.

NAYS—55

Adams	Harrington	O'Neill, Mass.
Bingham	Hathaway	Ottinger
Blatnik	Hawkins	Podell
Brasco	Hechler, W. Va.	Rees
Burton, Calif.	Helstoski	Reid, N.Y.
Carey	Hungate	Reuss
Chisholm	Karth	Rosenthal
Clay	Kastenmeier	Roybal
Cohelan	Koch	Ryan
Conyers	Leggett	St. Onge
Daddario	Lowenstein	Scheuer
Diggs	McCarthy	Stokes
Edwards, Calif.	Macdonald, Mass.	Thompson, N.J.
Farbstein	Mikva	Tunney
Ford, William D.	Mink	Ullman
Fraser	Moorhead	Vanik
Gilbert	Moss	Waldie
Green, Pa.	Nedzi	Wolff
		Yates

Congress Turns on Rumsfeld

Former Rep. Donald Rumsfeld, who resigned his congressional seat to become captain of the anti-poverty program, is rapidly becoming one of the most unpopular Administration officials on Capitol Hill. Accusing the ex-congressman of reversing his field on the anti-poverty boondoggle, House lawmakers are saying that Rumsfeld has developed into a perfect empire-building bureaucrat who is apparently enamored with being in charge of dispensing billions of dollars of federal money.

RUMSFELD

Though Rumsfeld was highly critical of the anti-poverty program in previous years, he is now, amazingly enough, campaigning for a $2.3-billion poverty package reported out by the House Education and Labor Committee—even though the bill is nearly $300 million more than requested by the Administration and doesn't come close to reforming the program in any way.

The legislation would not only continue the program for the next two years, but contains a "sleeper" clause which gives the OEO a blank check on the Treasury, enabling it to tap not a limited amount but "such sums as are necessary."

As debate on the committee's $2.3-billion package got under way in the House last week, Rumsfeld once again turned out to be working hand-in-glove with big-spending liberals rather than the Republican leadership.

When House GOP leaders and Southern Democrats rallied behind a substitute measure that would have returned the power over OEO programs to the states, for instance, Rumsfeld immediately bellowed that this proposed power transfer would "be very harmful—crippling."

The substitute, aimed chiefly at bringing under state control OEO's controversial community action programs, had the support of such diverse individuals as Representatives William Ayres (R.-Ohio), the ranking Republican on the Education and Labor Committee, and liberal Democrat Edith Green of Oregon, the second-ranking Democrat on the committee. It also had the support of GOP minority leader Gerald Ford and Republican whip Leslie Arends. But not poverty czar Rumsfeld.

Ignoring his former GOP colleagues and his own previous positions, Rumsfeld tried to persuade the President to publicly support the committee bill, but Nixon chose a hands-off policy. In the last analysis, Rumsfeld had to rely on liberal Democrat Carl Perkins, chairman of the Education and Labor Committee.

Perkins, whose district in five years has received more than $72 million out of a total of some $251 million in poverty funds for the state (see *Human Events*, Nov. 22, 1969, page 8), rushed, successfully, to Rumsfeld's rescue. When it looked as if the GOP-Southern Democratic substitute were going to pass overwhelmingly, Perkins managed to get the House leadership to delay a showdown vote on the poverty legislation. The vote may now be put off for a week or more.

House members, however, were clearly outraged at the delaying tactic. Rep. Ayres bluntly told the Congress that he and other lawmakers had campaigned on the grounds that Republicans would change the OEO and "clean up the biggest mess in government." Ayres pointedly added that "The mess is still there. The war is still faltering. It is still a 'national tragedy.'" He then entered into the *Congressional Record* a portion of a GOP-prepared booklet demonstrating that the OEO was a scandal-ridden agency.

Ayres was not the only member to take a swipe, at least indirectly, at Rumsfeld. Rep. William Scherle

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rapped Rumsfeld by name and suggested he needed some spine and some common sense.

Rep. Green remarked that the committee bill "did not have a single change—not a single change in the OEO program in terms of administration—in terms of structure—in terms of all the abuses that have occurred—and in terms of what I think are outright violations by OEO of congressional intent. There was not a single change in this area. The only change in the bill was to say to the OEO, 'We will give you an additional $295 million [above the President's request] to spend in the way you want to spend it.'" Yet it is this unchanged piece of legislation that Rumsfeld is frantically trying to push through Congress.

• Republicans are highly critical of Rumsfeld for other reasons as well as his campaign for a program which the President himself vigorously assailed during the election. They have complained, for instance, that Rumsfeld's congressional liaison team has done a miserable job and that Rumsfeld himself is not readily available.

Rep. Delbert Latta (R.-Ohio), for one, has been extremely angry with Rumsfeld's shop. For nearly a month, beginning October 24, Latta's office had requested the OEO to furnish a copy of the controversial OEO manual endorsing threats of rioting as a means of getting goodies for the poor. Though Latta's office was repeatedly promised a copy, it never came. The congressman finally obtained the manual elsewhere. Atty. Gen. Theodore Sendak of Indiana personally came to see Rumsfeld about possible scandals in Lake County, but Sendak asserts he was brushed off by Rumsfeld. Eventually, he delivered his evidence to Rep. Scherle.

• Rumsfeld's opposition to a "Murphy-type" amendment has also irritated lawmakers. This amendment, adopted by the Senate, would restore final responsibility with regard to the OEO legal services to the hands of the governors. Rep. Scherle is proposing such an amendment in the House because, he asserts, the OEO legal service has clearly overstepped the bounds of its legislative aim, which was to provide legal services to the poor.

"For example," says Scherle, "suits financed by the 'War on Poverty' lawyers have sought to persuade the U.S. district courts in Newark, N.J., and Philadelphia, Pa., to appoint federal receivers to run the local police department.

"The Philadelphia suit also asked to nullify state laws against carrying concealed deadly weapons, sedition, riot, conspiracy, loitering and obstructing justice.

"In Atlantic City, the legal service program is challenging the constitutionality of the New Jersey Narcotics Act and is contesting the state law requiring dope users to register with the police. In Indianapolis, Ind., the local legal service program distributes several thousand cards in the city's low-income neighborhoods giving advice on the 'art of non-cooperation' with the police.

"Students on OEO-financed fellowships in poverty laws at the University of Pennsylvania held the national OEO legal service director captive in his sixth-floor office for four and one half hours. Later these self-styled advocates of law and order were arrested by Washington, D.C. police." But Rumsfeld, apparently, doesn't want any amendment that could deal with these abuses.

Report on Reds Suppressed?

There's some interesting background to the recent anti-war demonstrations here in the Nation's Capital. Several years ago, it will be recalled, President Johnson publicly expressed concern that the Communists were behind anti-war and anti-draft demonstrations in the country. He gave full support to a Department of Justice investigation to determine the role the Reds were taking but the results were never made known.

When National Mobe (now called New Mobe) staged an assault on the Pentagon in 1967, House Democratic floor leader Carl Albert said the marchers included "every Communist and Communist sympathizer who was able to make the trip." He also charged that the attack had been "basically organized by international communism."

Republican leader Gerald Ford then revealed that at a White House meeting LBJ had read to him and other Republicans a secret report revealing that the demonstration had been organized by international communism. When he asked the report to be made public, Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark visited Ford and said it could not be revealed without compromising sources of information and creating a new wave of "McCarthyism." The same claim was also made by Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

Ford argued that the American people were entitled to the information and were not about to get hysterical, but the report was never released. If that report is still in existence, say some observers, it would be interesting if the Nixon Administration would release its contents.

$21,000 Annual Welfare on Tap

While the White House was convening its "conference on hunger" and the House was debating the anti-poverty bill last week, Mrs. Edith Green (D.-Ore.), a ranking member of the Education and Labor Committee, unveiled for her colleagues some extremely interesting statistics on federal handouts.

GREEN

Mrs. Green, who considers herself a liberal Democrat, asked the Library of Congress to compile the total amount of funds a family could receive from the federal government if that family took advantage of all the public assistance programs that are available.

Taking a hypothetical family of a mother with four children—one a preschooler, one in elementary school, one in high school and one in college—the library informed her of the following:

This family could collect $2,800 from public assistance; $618 from medical assistance because of AFDC; $336 in cash value for food stamps; and about $200 from OEO for legal services and health care. The family would also be entitled to public housing or rent supplements ranging in value from $406 to $636.

The preschool child would be entitled to enter Head Start, the average cost being $1,050 for each youngster. The child in high school would be eligible for $1,440 worth of services from Upward Bound and the youngster in college would be eligible for an education opportunity grant that could be worth anywhere from $500 to $1,000. He also would be eligible for a National Defense Education Act loan, and if he took advantage of the forgiveness feature, he could get an outright grant of $520. He would also be eligible for a work-study program costing in the neighborhood of $475.

If the mother wanted to participate in the job opportunity program, this would be worth $3,000.

So this imaginary family, a mother with four children, would be able to take advantage of grants and services worth $11,513 for the year.

Mrs. Green added: "Let us consider another hypothetical case: a mother with eight children, two of whom are in preschool, three in high school, one in college, one in elementary school and one a dropout. If this mother of eight children participated in the concentrated employment program, and, if she took advantage of all of the programs the federal government has designed for the poor and disadvantaged, she could have an annual income of $21,093. Nobody in that family would need to work for one single day.

"Now for those people across the country who are saying this is a government that does not have any concern for the poor, and that they have to take to the streets to impress upon the government their needs, I suggest they look at these programs."

The Senate's Nimble Liberals

Spurred on by liberal Democrats and Republicans, the Senate last week brushed aside repeated Administration warnings that large-scale tax reductions would greatly unbalance the federal budget and continue to fuel the flames of inflation.

An increase in the personal income tax exemption from $600 to $800 won by a 58-to-37 vote, with nine Republicans breaking party ranks. The exemption increase had been proposed by Sen. Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.). It was a big personal victory for the Tennessean, who faces a major re-election fight next year, and a major defeat for the President.

A short time later the Senate dealt the President another setback when, by a 48-to-41 vote, it passed Sen. Vance Hartke's (D.-Ind.) amendment providing tax credit on investment of up to $20,000 a year. The action, however, is not final, for the Senate bill will have to go to a Senate-House conference.

Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) estimated that both amendments would cost the government at least $7.5 billion in taxes over a two-year period. Williams sarcastically commented: "I compliment some of my colleagues who are so nimble that they can get on both sides of this question and vote for all the tax reductions and then vote against all the expenditure reductions. It would be wonderful if we could do it, but we cannot have a solvent government if we do."

President Nixon, it is reported, may veto the final tax bill if it seriously jeopardizes the prospect of a balanced budget.

Racism in Cuba

How are race relations faring down in Castro's paradise? Not too well, according to Andrew Ferrell, a former aide to Black Panther party official Eldridge Cleaver. Talking to reporters in Paris last week, Ferrell, who in mid-1968 trekked to Cuba where he was later joined by Cleaver, claimed that Negroes were receiving a raw deal from Fidel.

"We had agreed prior to leaving Cuba that once we were out, we were going to make an announcement denouncing the Cubans," he said, "but for some reason, Eldridge reneged on that agreement."

Ferrell said the Cubans put him and a friend into solitary confinement for eight weeks, an experience he described as "mental torture, worse than anything I'd seen in the United States." Later they were handed jobs as laborers in Camaguey Province.

"We ran into all kinds of dissatisfied Cubans," said Ferrell. "You know, like people were saying, 'Hey, man, you're crazy. What did you come down here for? Everybody's leaving here and going there [America]. This is insane.'"

He said he doubted what he heard at first, but then kept running into all sorts of people who were obviously disenchanted with Cuba. When Cleaver arrived, said Ferrell, he was given the red carpet treatment by Castro, but after a few months he became highly critical of the regime, even after they tried to buy him off. Ferrell quoted Cleaver as telling Castro aide Jesus Jiminez, "You're treating them [Cuba's blacks] like the Nazis treated the Jews in Germany. The only thing you're not doing is putting them in gas chambers. You're working them to death."

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Massacre Locale Was Viet Cong Stronghold

By Col. R. D. HEINL JR.

Tel Aviv:—It is difficult to write with authority from abroad about the shocking 1968 My Lai massacre charges directed against U.S. Army officers and men.

What crimes were committed and by whom will be up to a court martial and, in larger context, to the congressional inquiries which will and must surely follow.

But even at this distance and at this stage, certain observations and questions seem in order regarding the context of the crimes and the manner of their disclosure.

The locale of the affair, Quang Ngai Province, is one of the hardest-core Viet Cong areas remaining in South Viet Nam. Anybody who has been in Viet Nam knows that for 20 years Quang Ngai has been a Viet Minh and subsequently a Viet Cong stronghold.

Every village—like Song My and neighboring My Lai—is a fortified hamlet, honeycombed with tunnels, bunkers and booby traps.

Quang Ngai has been the scene of repeated Communist terrorism. Within the past year government schools and hospitals of Quang Ngai City have had rooms of children and wards full pf patients slaughtered by grenade and machine gun attacks.

To heighten Quang Ngai's sinister atmosphere of death and terror, it must be recalled that the alleged massacre took place only a month after the Tet offensive of 1968.

The time was one of national panic and the Viet Cong were still trying to push the U.S. forces into the sea and destroy South Viet Nam in a volcanic "general uprising" long foretold by Ho Chi Minh.

Turning away from what may be called the local context of the "Pinkville Affair" the central question one asks is how far up the Army chain of command responsibility really extends?

The Army's Field Service Regulations, for generations the Bible of professional officers, succinctly says, "The commander is responsible for all that his unit does or leaves undone."

By this definition, which is a hard one (and meant to be), responsibility for this matter could theoretically extend up the line to Gen. William Westmoreland, who was then in command.

Certainly culpability cannot stop at the level of the platoon leader who has thus far been charged. The company commander concerned has already been named and implicated. Other reports indicate that a battalion-scale operation took place.

It seems inconceivable that an operation of this character could have proceeded without the knowledge and sanction of brigade and division headquarters.

Although what actually happened is the major question, subordinate but not unimportant questions arise as to the motives and bent of those responsible for making this affair public.

The actions of Ronald Ridenhour, a 23-year-old student who was not in the unit or even at My Lai, in pursuing his own investigation and publicizing the episode seems rather curious.

Even more curious is the fact that first word of the massacre was channelled to the press via Seymour Hersh's anti-war "Dispatch News Service," which is reportedly associated with Richard Barnet's radical-left Institute for Policy Studies.

Both Hersh and Barnet are authors of violent anti-military books containing sensational and in places inaccurate and unfair attacks on U.S. policies.

Yet the fact must be faced that something, probably something horrible, did happen at Pinkville. Until that something is fully investigated and until responsible parties, regardless of rank, have been made to pay, the U.S. Army (and behind it the United States) will be on trial.

The final question no trial can answer, however, is this:

How can you fight a war of this abominable kind on terms that are morally acceptable to Western democracies?

The answer is, you can't.

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POW Tells of Red Tactics

Maj. Rowe Slighted by Press

By JOHN D. LOFTON

While the media has given full coverage to the alleged U.S. massacre at My Lai hamlet in Viet Nam (indeed, the TV networks are said to be particularly aggrieved at having missed the opportunity to broadcast, live, a real American atrocity), they have been something less than enthusiastic about publicizing the barbarities of the Communists.

The recent visit to Capitol Hill by Maj. James N. Rowe is a case in point.

Invited to appear before the House Armed Services Committee to tell what it was like to be a captive of the Viet Cong for five years, Maj. Rowe accepted. After hearing his tale, several members of Congress were so impressed they asked the major if he would make individual films with them for showing back in their congressional districts. He agreed.

In the films the major spoke of what it is the Communists try to do to a prisoner:

"The Viet Cong have actually two goals with an American POW. First, they want to get as much propaganda value from him as they can while they have him. . . .

"The second goal is to try and get an American POW to violate our Code of Conduct, as they interpret it. They feel if they can do this, that an American POW, if he is sent back to the U.S., will be punished by the government for violation of the code and, once punished by the government, will be alienated and can be picked up by a left-wing organization and used as a propaganda tool for the anti-war movement . . . right within the United States."

Maj. Rowe told how the Communists used U.S. anti-war propaganda:

"In the latter part of 1967 they ceased quoting any of their sources, dropped them completely, and began drawing from American sources, our own news media in the U.S. They started drawing from statements made by prominent individuals within our government [Senators Mansfield, Morse, McGovern, Fulbright], people of note within the U.S. . . . They were quite free in using this. . . . Radio Hanoi was free with their quotes, Radio Liberation drew quotes from American sources such as the Associated Press, United Press International, *Time, Newsweek, Life, Look,* the Washington *Post* and the New York *Times.* The political cadre who were in charge of indoctrination began to include these in . . . their lesson plans. . . ."

Now, what kind of press coverage did Maj. Rowe get on his trip to Washington to tell the Armed Services Committee about life in a Communist prison camp?

Here is the lead paragraph from the front-page story in the Washington *Post*, headlined "Major Held Five Years by Vietcong Wages Fight on Doves in Congress":

"With the sponsorship of hawkish congressmen and the knowledge of the Pentagon an Army major who is a Viet Nam hero is attacking anti-war legislators and certain newspapers and magazines."

Later on in the story, reporter Bernard Nossiter tells us very straightfacedly that Maj. Rowe "poses in reverse the problem raised by servicemen who sign anti-war ads and march in peace parades. One central difference, however, is the high-level sponsorship Rowe enjoys." Another central difference, of course, is that Maj. Rowe is speaking up *for* his country.

A follow-up story appeared in the Washington *Post* four days later, spread across eight columns and headlined: "Major's Anti-Dove Activities are Criticized in Congress."

Bristling at what he called the major's "vicious attacks," the old vicious attacker himself, Ohio Sen. Stephen Young, labeled Rowe a "puppet of the Pentagon propagandists" and asserted that the major had "unmitigated effrontery" in questioning the patriotism of Sen. McGovern, a decorated World War II pilot.

(Why it is "unmitigated effrontery" for a decorated Viet Nam veteran [Rowe: Silver Star, Bronze Star, Purple Heart] to tell of a decorated World War II veteran [McGovern] propagandizing for Hanoi, yet all right for a U.S. senator [Young] to attack a decorated Viet Nam veteran [Rowe] as propagandizing for the Pentagon, the senator from Ohio did not say.)

In any event, it all goes to illustrate what Vice President Agnew was griping about when he issued his celebrated call for more fairness and objectivity in the media.

At this rate, the only way an American POW is going to be able to get press coverage is if it can be proved that he abused his captors.

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Pressure is mounting on Hanoi (and not just from the longshoremen) to at least provide information on American POWs. Above, a captured U.S. airman is led through the streets of the North Vietnamese capital.

Longshoremen Would End Boycott If Hanoi Begins Releasing POWs

By VICTOR RIESEL

New York:—There is on President Nixon's desk a blunt letter from a longshoremen's leader, who is of woven steel, soft voice, lots of heart, lots of gut—and who believes that the womenfolk of some 1,300 American prisoners of war should have their one grim question answered: Are they wives or are they widows?

To cover the waterfront is to cover that dockworkers leader, Johnny Bowers, the International Longshoremen's Association's executive vice president. His missive is not just a "Dear Mr. President" letter. Johnny Bowers wants to make a deal. In fact, he wants President Nixon to make it.

His "quid pro quo," as he puts it, to Mr. Nixon is crystal clear, as the President is wont to say: The American longshoremen are ready to end their 18-year-old boycott of Soviet cargo and passenger ships if Moscow will convince its ally, Hanoi, to release five prisoners in return for each Red vessel serviced in an American Atlantic or Gulf port.

This letter was dispatched to the White House on November 18. If it's presumptuous, it is presumption wrung from the gut of waterfront workers whose sons are fighting or have been cut to death in Viet Nam. In this note Johnny Bowers tells the President that the longshoremen are not specialists in international affairs. But the communication does say that "very recently International [ILA] President Thomas W. Gleason and I were asked by a spokesman for the State Department to consider working some Soviet ships if they entered New York harbor. At that time we told him our answer was still no. . . ."

The State Department men, in their fashion, were blunt with Johnny and Teddy (they'd rather you did not call them mister). It would be good diplomacy, said the American diplomats some weeks ago, if the American longshoremen serviced a Soviet passenger ship or two now that there is a reciprocal flight arrangement between Aeroflot Soviet Airlines and Pan American Airways. Why not handle Red craft in U.S. ports?

Johnny and I discussed the ILA's rejection of this request. He was bitter.

"The Soviets must believe we're fools," said he. "They pressure the State Department into pressuring us on the theory that free entry of Soviet ships into American ports would speed amity between America and Russia. Then on November 13 Nikolai Tarassov, the Soviet delegate to the U.S. Social Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, says loudly and publicly that our boys, who are prisoners of the North Vietnamese Communists, are criminals and pirates not covered by international agreements and should not be given any mercy. But they ask for amity and the State Department asks us to help their shipping trust. It's ridiculous."

But five days later Johnny Bowers wrote to President Nixon offering the exchange deal. The longshoremen's leader had before him truly tear-stained letters from prisoners' wives.

There are scores of such letters. If Johnny Bowers had no heart, only the steel which toughens a dockwalloper on the West Side piers, he could not stand mute. And so he wrote to Mr. Nixon:

". . .Regarding the working of Russian passenger ships in New York harbor, I believe that ILA members would be willing to lay aside their very strong feelings on this score if the Soviet Union consented to use its considerable influence with the Hanoi government to persuade them to begin releasing American prisoners of war as a 'quid pro quo' . . . . If the American and Soviet governments want to use the passenger ships to open the way for U.S.-USSR trade, let Hanoi release a few of our war prisoners each time a Red ship comes into New York harbor. . . ."

Johnny Bowers had another thought.

"I trust that our offer will in some way help to open the door to impartial inspections of prisoner facilities, the disclosure of names of all prisoners, the release of all injured prisoners and a relaxation of the restrictions on prisoners being allowed to exchange mail with their families. . . ."

Johnny Bowers also wrote that "we have no wish to embarrass you or make foreign policy, as we have been accused of doing. . . ."

But another Christmas is coming and there are wives and kids who have written Johnny and who for the moment don't ask for much. Just a list. Just to know their soldier is still alive. And the longshoremen would handle those Soviet ships. Even for the Soviets this isn't a bad bargain. Or haven't they yet signed a treaty recognizing Christmas?

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Nixon's State Department

Changing the decor, but not the inmates

From the Chicago *Tribune*

When he was a candidate for President, in a television interview broadcast Oct. 13, 1968, Richard Nixon said he wanted a secretary of state who would join him in "cleaning house" in the State Department. "We are going to clean house up there," he said. "We are going to bring in new men with a fresh approach. It's going to be a Nixon-oriented State Department."

Secretary of State William P. Rogers is Mr. Nixon's trusted friend, but if he has other special qualifications for his job it is one of the best-kept secrets in Washington. Certainly he has not distinguished himself as a house cleaner.

One of Mr. Rogers' first official acts was to reject the appeal of Otto F. Otepka for reinstatement as the State Department's security officer, from which position he was fired by Secretary Dean Rusk in November 1963 for telling the Senate Internal Security subcommittee the truth about the department's antipathy toward normal security precautions.

Mr. Nixon redeemed a campaign promise to the *Tribune*'s Willard Edwards and vindicated Otepka by appointing him to a $36,000-a-year job as a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board. . . .

Secretary Rogers, under pressure from holdover State Department officials, also refused to reinstate John D. Hemenway, former chief of the Berlin Section, who was fired January 17, in the last days of the Johnson Administration, because he had denied, in agreements with his superiors, that the Russian and Eastern European Communists are genuinely devoted to peace and friendship with the United States.

Hemenway was vindicated by appointment to a better paying job as assistant to G. Warren Nutter, assistant secretary of defense for International Security Affairs. . . .

What about the holdover State Department officials who purged Otepka and Hemenway? They are still there, in the second and third echelons, where most of the policy decisions are made. . . .

Meanwhile the State Department's line on communism, the "fresh approach" that Mr. Nixon promised, is about the same as it was when Mr. Nixon, as a young congressman, was exposing Alger Hiss. In fairness, however, it must be acknowledged that significant changes are occurring.

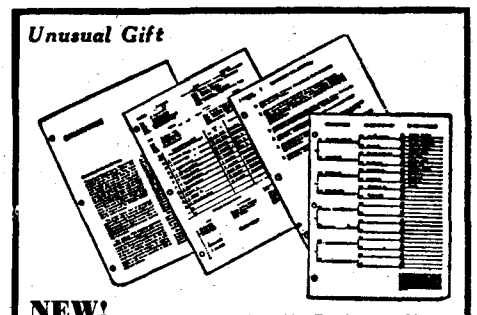
We are indebted to the New York *Times* for a fascinating account of remodeling operations in the diplomatic entertaining rooms. Clement E. Conger, the department's elegant deputy chief of protocol, said the decision to remodel was made in 1960, when Mrs. Christian Herter, whose husband was secretary of state, broke into tears in the ladies' lounge.

"The lounge, with all those mirrors, was suitable for a gangster's 'moll'," Mr. Conger said. "After all, Mrs. Herter is a Pratt from New York."

After nine years, hundreds of tax-free donations, and loans and gifts of antiques worth about $4 million, the first phase of the refurbishing is almost finished.

"We want to make the rooms look like a great house of Philadelphia in the last of the 18th Century, instead of a hotel," Mr. Conger said.

This is the Nixon-oriented State Department. They have changed the decor but not the inmates.



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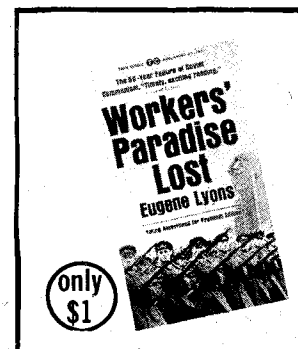

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Will Frustrated Radicals Turn to Sabotage?

Congress and the courts must anticipate a growing threat

By ROBERT BAILEY

The United States may be in for a wave of sabotage never before experienced in our nation's history. Elements of the radical fringe appear prepared for this as the next level of escalation in the growing civil war that at times takes on the mask of the theater of the absurd, but which really is a deliberate threat to our social order, economy and form of government.

The impotence of the "Demonstrations of the '60s" has left a rapidly growing sector of the militant left frustrated—and angry. Revolutionaries are poor losers; in fact, they refuse to lose. They merely view themselves as destined to move to the next level of attack against the society that refuses to let them win. That next level is sabotage.

Up until now American Marxists have thought they could shut this country down by pursuing that ancient myth that an American proletariat was just lying dormant waiting to be aroused by leadership. But for the most part, the old and neo-Marxists were only leading a rag-tag parade of social delinquents looking for attention. The revolution hasn't developed as they had foreseen. And until recently the wild ones that brought forth ideas of sabotaging this nation were isolated from the cell meetings or at least advised to cool it. The climate is changing as frustrations mount.

Black Panthers and their white allies have made sporadic attempts at street warfare. Black warriors have ambushed police patrols, sniped from rooftops, and shot down other blacks in tribal warfare.

A few white groups of the Movement advocate "guns for defense" against the police. One such group, calling itself the Berkeley Liberation Committee, was represented at the Panthers' revolutionary conference. The BLC expressed the sense of frustration felt by the more radical elements of the left: "We cannot go on handing flowers to the same police who are responsible for arresting, beating, wounding and killing members of our community."

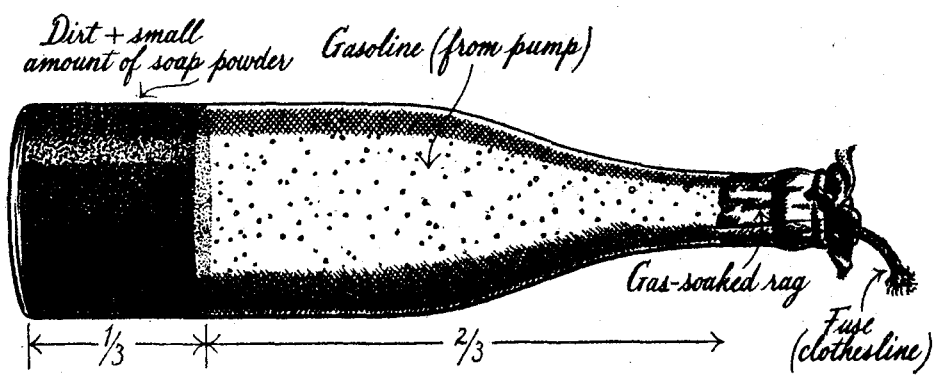
One admittedly Communist organization in southern California is reportedly formulating plans to illegally bring weapons into the country from Mexico.

However, the greatest threat to American internal security and our capacity to continue to assume our military obligations overseas is in the enormous potential to sabotage this nation's industrial and military operation.

Sabotage and terrorism are not subjects with which the American people have much familiarity. During wars in which this country has been engaged we have employed sabotage as a military tactic, as did the enemy to a minor degree on our soil. But we, as a nation, are no more psychologically prepared for acts of violence on a mass scale against our property than we are prepared for the bombing of our cities.

And this psychological unreadiness is coupled with a vulnerability that stems from our false sense of national unity and internal security. Too few Americans are aware of the fact that never in the history of the United States have there been so many politically and mentally prepared people ready and willing to commit acts of terrorism and sabotage within our own boundaries.

Robert Bailey is the pen name of a West Coast expert on internal security affairs.



The Molotov cocktail.

Here are a number of different formulas:

1. **one third motor oil, two thirds gasoline.**
2. **one third sugar, two thirds gasoline.**
3. **one third soap powder, two thirds gasoline with a dash of oil.**
4. **one third naptha (moth flakes), two thirds gasoline. (This will result in a primative napalm.)**

A tampax will also do satisfactorily as the wick. The wick should be soaked in gasoline prior to ignition. The bottle should be as thin as possible.

Many underground papers such as Black Politics (discussed in this article) carry instructions on the manufacture of devices such as Molotov cocktails.

To date acts of sabotage against military, industrial and private property that can be considered subversive-oriented have been scattered, uncoordinated, oftentimes amateurish and, when the potential is considered, have caused little damage.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, in recent budget testimony before the House Appropriations Committee, enumerated some of the specific acts of calculated sabotage, several of SDS origin. He quoted a national representative of Students for a Democratic Society that they and other New Left groups were organizing and planning efforts to disrupt the national "war-making effort" all over the country.

Hoover's report revealed that in January 1968 a pamphlet entitled, "What Must We Do Now?. . .An Argument for Sabotage As the Next Logical Step Toward Obstruction and Disruption of the U.S. War Machine," urged the utilization of incendiary devices to immobilize local draft boards, ROTC buildings and other government agencies and war industries.

The pamphlet, reportedly prepared in Canada, and circulated among anti-Viet Nam war groups in this country, contained detailed instructions for the construction of simple incendiary devices. The emphasis was on the necessity for making such attacks clandestine and urged that only two or three persons be knowledgeable of any sabotage plan in order to preclude compromise.

Subsequent to the circulation of this pamphlet on sabotage, according to Hoover, a wave of assaults with firebombs were made against campus ROTC facilities across the country.

During this period, the fall of 1968, a CIA office was bombed at Ann Arbor, Mich., an act for which, according to the FBI director, the New Left at the University of Michigan, and specifically SDS, has claimed the credit. At the same time a fleet of heavy Army trucks was destroyed by fire and explosives at the National Guard armory at Van Nuys, Calif. In February 1969 an SDS student at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., pleaded guilty and was sentenced to five years in connection with an attempted firebombing of the ROTC headquarters on that campus.

During the month of January 1969, high-power transmission towers were dynamited in and around Denver, Colo. An SDS activist has been indicted by a federal grand jury in connection with these incidents and is currently being sought as a fugitive, Hoover told the committee.

Ed Montgomery, the Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter for the San Francisco *Examiner* and a respected authority on subversive activities, testified before the House Committee on Internal Security in June 1968 and was asked if there had been any sabotage or threats of sabotage in the San Francisco Bay area. He replied that there had been considerable sabotage in recent weeks prior to the hearing.

Montgomery reported, "We have had the instance of a huge Pacific Gas and Electric transmission power line in the Berkeley Hills, just beyond the radiation laboratory [U.C.'s nuclear research center], blown down with dynamite one night, and it disrupted power service for a large segment of the community. . .militant race agitators. . .are advocating guerrilla warfare. We have heard them say that the thing to do was to blow up power stations, blow up police stations, blow up factories. There has been an intimation that they were going to blow up the Standard Oil plant in Richmond."

Subsequent to his testimony Montgomery broke the story in November 1968 that an all-points bulletin for the arrest of an East Bay couple in connection with a wave of sabotage bombings had been issued. When the FBI and sheriff's department offices searched the home of Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Tankersley in the Richmond area they found "bombs prepared for immediate use, a list of targets including telephone microwave stations, power line towers, transformers and industrial plants, together with dynamite caps, timing devices, literature pertaining to revolutions, and maps," according to Montgomery.

The Tankersleys had not been seen since they left the area to attend an SDS national convention at the University of Colorado the month before. Authorities were led to the Tankersley home following the arrest of an Army deserter and stockade escapee, Daniel C. Guirkins, whose apartment, according to the San Francisco *Examiner* story, "was found to contain a virtual bomb factory." Tankersley was an economics graduate student at the University of California and his wife had been a stenographer in one of the campus research centers. Neither Tankersley, described by the FBI as armed and dangerous, nor his wife Susan have been apprehended.

In November Guirkins was charged with bombing UC's ROTC center and setting off a bomb at the Alameda County Court House, where Black Panther Huey Newton was tried. Guirkins was found guilty and is serving his sentence. A number of other suspects were under investigation and Charles Bates, FBI special agent in charge of that agency's San Francisco office, said there was a strong possibility that they were part of a nationwide conspiracy involving disruptive actions.

Special Agent Bates, in using the term "conspiracy," opens the door to a subject of such legally complicated proportions that Rome may well burn while the Justice Department, Congress and the courts debate the definition of the word. In a free country where citizens are protected by the fairest and most just of all Constitutions, there is a precariously fine line drawn between legal free speech and illegal incitement to riot or commit sabotage.

While the PG&E saboteurs were trying to immobilize the bay area power system, underground newspapers in the same area carried front-page stories on "do it yourself" bombs, detailing construction from readily available materials. One issue published a large utility map of the bay area showing exactly where transformers, transmission lines and power stations were located.

In May 1968, Marvin Garson, a one-time UC Trotskyite-activist involved in the Free Speech Movement, wrote a feature story in the paper he edits, the underground S.F. *Express Times,* in which he claimed to have had an interview with one of the PG&E saboteurs. The interview described the construction of explosive devices that, according to the bomber, were "simple and clear, that's the secret. Our principle is to cause *them* a thousand dollars worth of damage for every dollar we spend."

The newspaper promised to carry additional articles with directions for making a thermite bomb "to melt oil storage tanks" and explained the saboteur's objective. "We want to make as much trouble for the government for as little money as possible to make them hire as many people as possible to repress the rest."

This kind of journalism appears unfortunately to be protected by the 1st Amendment. Its reading audience is primarily the Movement itself. The "squares" in America rarely know this kind of publication exists. If they did, there would undoubtedly be a hue and cry heard by their representatives in Washington that might provoke some inquiry. Mr. Public, angered and shocked, would be posing the question, "Don't we have laws against this kind

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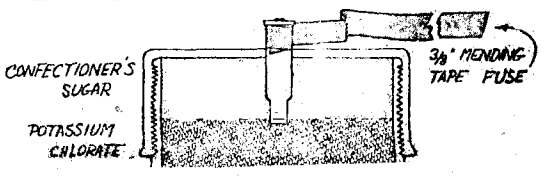
DO IT YOURSELF

PG&E Saboteur, Still At Large, Tells How He Did It



One saboteur who blew up a Pacific Gas and Electric Co. power line boasted of his exploit in the San Francisco Express Times and explained how it was done.

of thing?" And he would be given a peek at the judicial maze to nowhere regarding "advocacy," "conspiracy," and "free speech."

The legal question, of course, is whether a newspaper which prints plans and instructions on how to construct a bomb at the same time it has an article dealing with acts of sabotage is, in fact, advocating that the reader commit sabotage?

Is the paper "conspiring" with the reader to commit sabotage, to blow up another PG&E transmission tower? Not according to current statutes. Unless it can be proved that the paper advocated that the reader actually blow up the tower and that the reader in turn can be proved to have acted upon this prompting, the law is of no effect.

The Smith Act, which forbids the teaching or advocacy of violent overthrow of the government, was greatly limited in its strength by U.S. Supreme Court decisions in test cases in 1951 and 1957. The High Court ruled that it is not sufficient grounds for prosecution that a person advocate overthrowing the government; there must be evidence to show that others were influenced by that advocacy and were ready to or did act upon it. So freedom of the press prevails and "how to" stories dealing with blowing up the country—at least up until now—seem on safe ground.

Literally thousands of radical Americans, many sufficiently motivated to commit acts of sabotage, are reading undergound newspapers, pamphlets, instruction manuals and fliers that both instruct in and advocate the use of terrorism and sabotage to overthrow the government of the United States. Some are brazenly and openly identifiable, while others are anonymous and secretly circulated.

One unsigned document that has appeared in various sections of the country, called "Defensive Chemistry," clinically gives instructions in the making of various chemical devices for terrorism and sabotage. Example:

"Sodium or potassium metal in kerosene: very good for Molotov cocktails on a wet day. Does not have to be lit provided streets are damp. . . . White phosphorous is stored under water. If it is in the air, it will ignite spontaneously and start a very vicious fire. Technique in using: splash on whatever surface you want to burn. Only important thing is that it be a dry surface. . . . Dimethyl sulfoxide (DMSO): Harmless in itself. Can be absorbed through the skin rapidly. Get a toxic or disabling agent through skin by using DSMO as a transport medium. Maybe to use one of the heavy drugs such as LSD, STP, etc. . . . Mercury down drains corrodes completely. It is slow but effective: i.e., 50 lbs. of mercury in the federal building would completely do in the plumbing system."

Had law enforcement agencies the money and manpower to track down the origin of such a document, could the authors be successfully prosecuted? Most likely not, under any current application of the law as interpreted by the courts.

The laws which deal with conspiracy and advocacy are obsolete, based on combating "traditional" techniques and methods such as those portrayed in the Hollywood scene of foreign agents conspiring in a dimly lit cellar. It is no longer necessary that conspiracy be organized, that meetings be held between Adolph and Ivan, in order to commit sabotage that can be linked to a Movement.

The cloak-and-dagger liaison required for espionage is no longer required in the field of sabotage. The speed and freedom of communication, aided by the latitude of the court-interpreted Constitution and the existence of something vaguely called the Movement, preclude the need for the "conspiring" among persons known to one another.

An article written in an obscure revolutionary journal in New Mexico dealing with the techniques of sabotage may be read by a non-subscriber in Connecticut, who is mentally primed, but lacking the technology on how to derail a train. Having read the article, he proceeds to derail a train.

There is no possible way to prove in court that a person blew up a power line or derailed a train because he had read how to do it in a specific article or handbook. The United States Army Engineers cannot be held responsible for the fact that their handbooks on demolition are being circulated among American guerrillas; they did not intend that they be used to blow up American bridges. Revolutionary literature, produced and consumed by Americans, would be hard-pressed to explain what their "intent" was if it was not to stimulate and provoke violent action of some sort against this country.

If this nation must be bound by outmoded laws which permit circulation of literature which advocates revolutionary techniques, knowing full well that there are persons psychologically prepared to carry out such suggestions, then we are powerless to prevent the mass commission of violence and destruction which could render us industrially and militarily impotent.

In the area of Berkeley, Calif., ignition point for radical activism and campus riots, there is a proliferation of underground newspapers, pamphlets, manuals and fliers that suggest destruction "by any means possible" of the United States and they have had an obvious effect upon their readers.

A report from Gov. Reagan's office, covering the "People's Park" confrontation in May, which cost close to a million tax dollars to contain and subdue, stated:

"In the past 11 months, preceding the 'People's Park' crisis . . .there have been eight major bombings or attempted bombings. . . . Berkeley and other law enforcement officials have confiscated: More than 1,000 sticks of dynamite; more than 200 pistols, rifles, shotguns and other weapons; dozens of Molotov cocktails and materials for making these deadly incendiary devices, including bottles, gasoline and primer cord, a sort of fuse used to set off high-powered explosives.

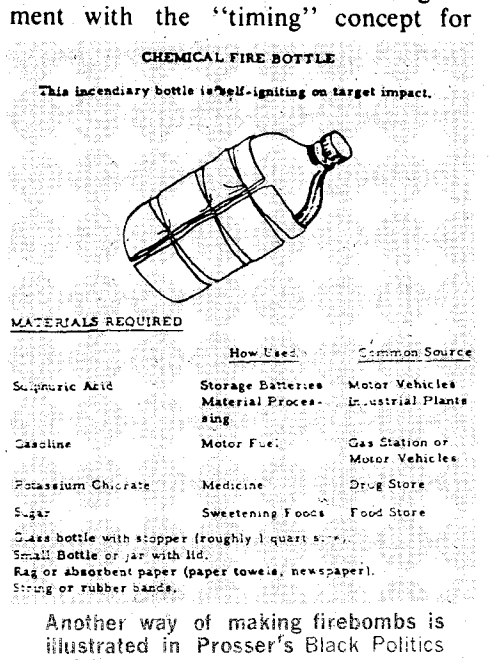
"These explosives and weapons have been found in caches stored in the Berkeley hills, in apartments, in cars, garages. . . . There have been dozens of arson attempts in Berkeley. Suspected arson-set fires have caused at least $800,000 damage in the past seven months alone. . . . Bungled bombing attempts at two industrial plants. One involved an effort to dynamite a huge vat of highly inflammable substance in a chemical plant and the other was an attempt to blow up another tank of cottonseed oil. . . ."

An illustration of the type of literature that virtually calls for stopping the war in Viet Nam by destroying domestic installations and the transportation system upon which military logistics are dependent is a bi-monthly "journal of liberation" circulated from a post office box in Berkeley. The 75-page publication, called "Black Politics," states that certain goals of the Black liberation movement "must be attained by those means that the oppressed think necessary."

A recent issue's 36-page cover story on "Terrorism and Sabotage: Some Questions of Tactics" is a good example of the sort of enunciation of subversive concepts that must ultimately be argued in the courts. The article was written by a "George Prosser," who has contributed regularly on various subjects dealing with weaponry, always in a revolutionary context.

Last year in an article entitled "Teach Yourself to Shoot," he stated: "Clearly, civil war is what this country is moving toward. . . . If you are going to survive the period of turmoil, police repression and national hysteria which lies ahead, you must get ready for war. You must take up the rifle."

Earlier this year another Prosser article, "An Introduction to Elementary Tactics," indicated the author's agreement with the "timing" concept for


CHEMICAL FIRE BOTTLE

This incendiary bottle is self-igniting on target impact.

MATERIALS REQUIRED

	How Used	Common Source
Sulphuric Acid	Storage Batteries Material Processing	Motor Vehicles Industrial Plants
Gasoline	Motor Fuel	Gas Station or Motor Vehicles
Potassium Chlorate	Medicine	Drug Store
Sugar	Sweetening Foods	Food Store

Glass bottle with stopper (roughly 1 quart size).
Small Bottle or jar with lid.
Rag or absorbent paper (paper towels, newspaper).
String or rubber bands.

Another way of making firebombs is illustrated in Prosser's Black Politics article.

guerrilla warfare. Said Prosser: "The time has come for us to consider some of the elementary tactical principles involved in urban guerrilla warfare, but it should be understood at the outset that we do not advise action *now* to carry out these principles [emphasis in the original]. A certain period of preparation is necessary before armed actions can seriously be considered. Weapons, ammunition, explosives and much related equipment must be obtained and stockpiled . . . suitable recruits having the desired revolutionary orientation must be selected and trained. . . .

"In previous articles in this journal we have sought to alert our devoted readers to the necessity of acquiring good rifles and ammunition while it was still possible to do so. Now a federal law has been passed which greatly restricts our access to these vital tools. . . . They are still obtainable, but now only at greater trouble and expense. . . . It is hoped that many of our readers paid heed to our timely advice and have already acquired their weapons and ammunition."

Prosser is highly informed on ammunition, guns and military tactics. In contrast to an Army Infantryman's Manual, Prosser freely editorializes his articles, appearing to relate the subject matter to political revolution and the idea of changing the United States government by other than legal means.

In his article on "Terrorism and Sabotage" he shows a keen understanding of the historical significance of Leninism and guerrilla warfare, and an odious attitude toward the American government. The article begins with the premise that President Kennedy was executed as part of an intelligence operation of the federal government, stating that "there is also irrefutable evidence that J. Edgar Hoover's Federal Bureau of Investigation possessed advance knowledge of the plot, but took no steps to protect the President."

Having debased the government, he then moves to the popular Maoist line that this government's "brutal and violent military attacks upon the Vietnamese people" should be equated with the "same government resorting to massive suppression of the wholly legitimate movement for social justice on the part of America's black and brown citizens." Prosser charges that "When in desperation they swarmed into the streets, military force was used to drive them back into the ghettos."

His readers are then told, "The same conspirators in high places who engineered the assassination of the President who have subjected the brave Vietnamese people to a cruel war of extermination, who suppressed the legitimate aspirations of the impoverished masses of this country, are even today hatching new schemes for the enslavement of the people, preparing new horrors to be inflicted upon a suffering mankind."

Having established a rationale for opposing the government, Prosser asks the question, "What is to be done?" and begins to open the door to the alternatives to non-violent dissent. "Since electoral politics has failed," he writes, "since peace marching has failed, since writing letters to congressmen has failed, since the whole apparatus of bourgeois parlimentary democracy has failed, what, then, is to be done? I am sure that a great many people are thinking in terms of direct action. They are thinking of how to derail a train."

Prosser is ready to discuss ways "to force our criminal government to bring war of atrocity to an end." Says he, *"My prediction is that direct action will take two forms, terrorism and sabotage,"* but quickly interjects a legal disclaimer: "Without in any sense advocating either of these forms of action, it nevertheless seems useful to examine them. . . ."

Prosser is now off the hook. He is free to continue for the next 29 pages to accurately depict the operation of terrorists during the Stalinist and Nazi regimes and during the Battle of Algiers, pointing out how American revolutionaries can avoid the mistakes previously made and more safely engage in sabotaging this country.

Prosser's article is laced with pages reproduced from official military manuals on demolitions, ammunition, charges required to blow up concrete beams, instruction diagrams for firing an 81-mm. mortar, how to safely light a fuse, and advertisements for handbooks on explosives, small arms ammunition, and guerrilla warfare.

At the point in the article where

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Prosser moves from the subject of terrorism to sabotage, he poses the question of whether urban terrorism and counter-terrorism, as took place in Algiers, will happen in America. Says Prosser piously, "Let us pray that it does not happen," and immediately proceeds with the sentence: "Let us now direct our attention to the second form that direct action might take in this country; namely *sabotage*" [emphasis in original].

He reviews the already mentioned PG&E bombings and the recent derailing of a train in California en route to the bay area, about which he says, "There have been conflicting reports in the press as to whether or not the train was carrying munitions. There may have been other such actions which were hushed up by the authorities, or described officially as accidents."

He states that it "may safely be assumed that an amorphous movement in the direction of this form of action is taking place in this country. The authorities are certainly concerned about it; elaborate and expensive procedures have already been instituted by the railroad companies in cooperation with the FBI to protect railroads from sabotage. *They know how vulnerable the supply line is*" [emphasis in original].

Prosser admits that the United States "certainly presents a picture of formidable power, both military and economic. . .it appears invincible." But, according to him, "this appearance may be illusory. . . . The significant question for us is, Is this military machine vulnerable at home?" He asks, ". . . . *why should the U.S. military be allowed the privilege, unprecedented in the history of warfare, of a long, vulnerable and virtually unprotected supply line?* [emphasis in original]. . .Just think of what it would mean if the government had to deploy troops to guard that supply line?"

He proposes the only way these supply lines would be protected would be "to withdraw troops from Viet Nam. . . forcing the government to withdraw troops from Viet Nam would be a victory, of course." Obviously, there are a significant number of American citizens who view "victory" in Asia in terms of a Communist success and the total collapse of U.S.-SEATO alliances.

Prosser now begins to outline the possibilities available for sabotaging our "long, vulnerable and virtually unprotected supply line."

He correctly assesses the points of vulnerability: "We are sitting right next to that vital supply line, because it passes through the San Francisco Bay area. . . .So are the people in Chicago, because all of the country's major railroad lines converge there. It is a potential bottleneck, a narrow isthmus of transport which, if pinched off, would bring the whole system to a halt. . . . It must be remembered that to fight the kind of war the U.S. is fighting in Viet Nam requires astronomical quantities of ammunition. . . .The ammunition cannot be expended, of course, if it does not reach its destination. . . . In general, it is quite proper to point out that the powerful American military industrial machine, precisely because it is so sophisticated and because its many complex parts are so interrelated, is extremely vulnerable to disruption."

Prosser says he is not advocating that anyone follow his instructions, but for the interested reader he says, "To sabotage railroad lines requires only the simplest equipment, crowbars and sledge hammer. To derail a train all that is necessary is to loosen the tie mountings on eight successive ties. Remove the fish-plate and apply leverage with a crowbar so as to move one rail toward the inside. Jam the fish-plate between." If that is not sufficient to give legislators and railroad executives cause for worry, it certainly will keep the men in the diesel locomotives on edge.

Mysterious derailings of railroad cars carrying explosives and inflammables have been occurring with increased rapidity throughout the country. Millions of dollars in damage, a number of deaths, and many injuries have been caused by explosive rail cargoes "unexpectedly" being derailed or catching fire this year.

A Western Pacific train carrying Army bombs destined for Viet Nam exploded in the desert near Wells, Nev., in June. In August a freight train loaded with butane tank cars passing through a small resort town in the Ozarks blew up, killing one, injuring 30, and damaging 204 buildings. The explosion sent an 800-pound railroad car wheel soaring three blocks into a home; a hole 15 feet deep and 50 feet wide cut across the railway roadbed. Railway officials admitted some of the freight cars were carrying ammonium perchlorate, an oxidizing agent in powder form used as a propellant in munitions.

In Laurel, Miss., earlier in the year, a train heavily laden with propane, 33,000 gallons of the dangerous liquid mixture, derailed and exploded. Four died, 40 persons were injured, and 200 were left homeless as fires raged through the residential and business districts. That particular train had been derailed twice in Alabama in the two weeks before the Laurel destruction.

Railway cars filled with ammonia were derailed in Crete, Neb., causing death and destruction when an explosion occurred. National Guardsmen were required to prevent looting. There has never been any public explanation for the disaster.

This is not to say that any or all of these are known acts of sabotage, but it does give some indication of the potential if revolution-oriented individuals were determined to act. The great majority of campus and urban riots have been the result of a climate intentionally created, more properly termed a "contagion" rather than a conspiracy, and in many ways the stealth and simplicity of sabotage makes it potentially even a more contagious threat.

When one puts on paper the possibilities for committing sabotage against his own country, as has Prosser, the disclaimer that the author himself doesn't advocate this sort of action seems sparse indeed. While American astronauts are pioneering the future of mankind in space, this revolutionary arms expert calls attention to the fact that the "moon rocket is a flying bomb, loaded with a highly explosive fuel. It is a huge target. A single .30-caliber machine gun, with tracer ammunition, placed a thousand yards away with a competent gunner behind it, can blow up the Saturn lunar rocket on its pad. How would that look on TV?" If Apollo 12 vaporizes in a ball of flame on its pad, is there any reason to believe a Prosser reader might not have been there?

George Prosser in this article uses the phrase, ". . .When the war has been brought home to Americans. . . ." This is the new battle cry of American radicals and revolutionaries. Bumper stickers and banners will soon be flying from coast to coast boldly emblazoned, "Bring the War Home." Ponder its meaning: it is the next level of escalation.

The time has come to redefine "conspiracy" in the context of America's new civil war. Inadvertently, Cleveland's Mayor Carl Stokes may have provided explanation of why a new interpretation of conspiracy laws, or even a new law, is imperative.

On July 23 last year three policemen were killed and eight others wounded in a sniper attack in Cleveland. Stokes said at the time that "There is no proof that they lured the police into a trap. . . . The trouble started as the result of a spontaneous action taken by a group who were armed and emotionally prepared to do violence."

Stokes' claim was contradicted in an underground press story by Julius Lester (*SFX Times,* Aug. 7, 1968). ". . .It was on Tuesday night, July 23," Lester wrote, "that a small group of black men set up an ambush for the police in the streets of Cleveland, Ohio. They set it well and carefully. . . .In 15 minutes it was all over. Three cops were dead and 14 wounded. Seven blacks died and one was wounded. . . .It is to be hoped that the cadre which planned and carried out the ambush have also done ther political homework and are carrying it into the community. . . ." Mayor Stokes may have been denying there was a "conspiracy" which could be proved in the courts. The key which has been provided by Stokes is his statement that these people "were armed and emotionally prepared to do violence."

Radical indoctrination which leads "emotionally prepared" persons to commit terrorism and sabotage must fall under some legal restriction. Federal and state attorneys general have been rendered judicial eunuchs by the courts. If this country is to be protected from the intellectual vandals and street hoodlums who have found in radical politics the rationale for their behavior, then this state of judicial castration must be reversed. The courts must return the authority to agencies invested with the original responsibility to protect this nation against all its enemies, both from within and from without.

American liberals have been co-opted by the New Left, to the delight of the subversives who have found sanctuary in the court decisions that have given them virtually total freedom of movement.

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, editor of the Tulsa *Tribune,* recently observed: "Whether the Warren Court advanced the general welfare naturally depended on one's beliefs. The court, for example, struck down practically all legislation imposing restrictions on Communists. This attitude toward Communists, treating them as though they were no more dangerous than members of an odd-ball religious sect, gave conservatives apoplexy, but many liberals hailed it as a magna carta for freedom of conscience and a final interment of 'McCarthyism'."

If our laws created for our own preservation are to be revitalized, it will take the combined efforts of all thinking men, liberals and conservatives, to accomplish it.

In a masterpiece of dissenting opinion, Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter made an observation that would serve well to separate the left-liberals from those who would seek change through terrorism and sabotage: "Appeal must be to an informed, civically militant electorate. In a democratic society like ours, relief must come through an aroused popular conscience that sears the conscience of the people's representatives."

The U.S. Supreme Court is scheduled to hear a re-argument of California's State Criminal Syndicalism Law, by State Ass't. Atty. Gen. Albert W. Harris. This 50-year-old law made it illegal to teach or advocate "the duty, necessity or propriety of committing crime, sabotage, violence or any unlawful method of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change."

The Syndicalism Law was upheld by the Supreme Court 40 years ago, but last spring the court noted in a similar case that elements restricting free speech were involved and that it did not approve of the law. The California state attorney general's office has filed a brief with the High Court in an attempt to preserve the law, citing examples of printed instructions by revolutionary organizations on methods of terrorism and sabotage. The state's brief, written by Deputy Atty. Gen. Clifford Thompson Jr., was filed following a Los Angeles Grand Jury indictment of a Progressive Labor party member accused of distributing leaflets that allegedly advocated terrorism and "force and violence." The application of the Criminal Syndicalism Law in California in the indictment was held to be "unconstitutionally vague and overbroad" by a U.S. District Court. The appeal by the Los Angeles district attorney's office is being presented by the state attorney general.

In his brief, Thompson wrote: "The California Syndicalism Act was enacted as an urgency measure in 1919, when active radical minorities threatened the stability of the existing political and social structure by force and violence. . . . It is our misfortune that the Criminal Syndicalism Act is not an anachronism. The circumstances which preceded its enactment plague us once again. Politically motivated acts of violence and sabotage threaten to become commonplace; militant organizations and anarchists mount violent attacks against California's citizens and institutions with increasing frequency."

Addressing himself to the ambiguities imparted by the courts to the Constitution, Thompson commented: "The 1st Amendment was intended as a shield, not a sword; but in warring upon one another extremists left and right have learned that speech is, quite literally, a lethal weapon. The Criminal Syndicalism Act, properly constructed, is a much-needed protective measure. . . ."

This law, now threatened with total emasculation by the courts, was designed to prosecute "Whoever, with intent to cause the overthrow or destruction of any such government, prints, publishes, edits, issues, circulates, sells, distributes, or publicly displays any written or printed matter advocating, advising, or teaching the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force and violence, or attempts to do so. . . ."

With the departure of Warren and Fortas, Mr. Harris perhaps will convince the court that the hour is at hand when our national security hangs in the balance and that it is unrealistic to view the problem in terms of absolute freedom of speech. He makes the point that among us are persons who, although they are citizens of this nation, are not committed to our form of government nor our economic system of free enterprise. By forsaking ordered progress in the pursuit of justice for all citizens, they vandalize the Constitution, twisting its meaning and purpose, prostituting its protections by turning it into a sanctuary from which they can render it, too, impotent and meaningless.

Purveyors of the technocracy of terrorism and sabotage are not a part of this country's fabric; they are enemies to be isolated from constitutional privilege before the mischief of their minds starts a chain reaction we may not be able to contain without a great loss of freedom for us all.

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GE and Grapes: The Boycott Is a Boomerang

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

It's difficult to fathom President George Meany of the AFL-CIO. On foreign policy issues involving the fate of the free individual he thinks absolutely straight. But if he doesn't lose his cool on domestic issues, he certainly loses his sense of logic.

There's this business of the boycott of General Electric products, for example. The AFL-CIO officials apparently think that if their "information" pickets can persuade retailers not to stock GE toasters and refrigerators it will somehow succeed in bringing the GE management to its knees in the current strike dispute. But even if the unions were successful in hurting GE at the customers' level it would only stand to harm the GE worker over the long run.

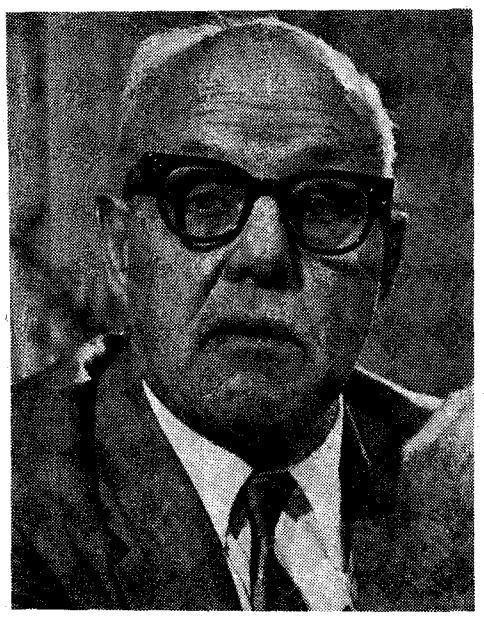
The boycott is a boomerang any way you take it. For two grape harvesting seasons the AFL-CIO's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has been trying to persuade an essentially middle-class republic to refrain from buying and eating California table grapes from the San Joaquin Valley.

The notion behind the grape boycott is that economic pressure might suddenly force the vineyard owners to sign union shop agreements with the UFWOC's Cesar Chavez, who has only been able to unionize 2 per cent of California's agricultral workers by persuasion. But what has been the actual effect of the grape boycott? As far as one can judge, it has cut down on the grape sales in a few big city outlets. But, going into its second year, the boycott is losing steam. The middle class doesn't care.

Insofar as the boycott has been effective, it has hurt the workers. Last year there were a good many four and five-day weeks in the vineyards instead of the customary six-day harvesting season routine. But the loss of time and pay was not sufficient to put any particular steam behind the Cesar Chavez organizing efforts. The attempted coercion was resented. Even if the boycott had been successful it would not have helped either Chavez or the vineyard workers.

There is no law that compels San Joaquin Valley land owners to grow grapes, and if the cost of keeping a vineyard threatens to go too high, there is nothing to prevent the owner from ripping up his vines and planting a more accommodating crop that can be harvested with machinery.

In calling for a boycott of GE products, the AFL-CIO has almost certainly misread the temper of the country. Unions are almost universally accepted today, but in gaining acceptance they have ceased to be holy. If the unions can get a better wage deal out of GE by striking, there will be pious complaints in some quarters about wage-push inflation. And if GE should be chivied into granting the union shop, a few principled believers in free choice would lament the continuing decline of individual liberty. But that would be about it.



In his campaign to have Americans boycott General Electric products AFL-CIO President George Meany (left) could learn a lesson from Cesar Chavez' unsuccessful attempts to cow grape growers.

A boycott, however, can be an intensely annoying thing. Retailers who have stocked GE electrical appliances for years must resent the effort to disrupt their normal commercial relationships. As for the housewife, why would she regard it as her business to help a union raise the cost of toasters, television sets and deep freezers?

A boycott hits at the consumer, narrowing his choice and forcing him to shop in a coercive atmosphere. The consumer happens to be everybody, not just the minority that thinks unions can do no wrong. There isn't enough leverage in a boycott to do anything more than embitter a situation.

But let us assume for the sake of argument that a boycott of GE products were successful. Eventually the striking GE workers would be going back to their jobs. They would find that Westinghouse and Allis-Chalmers and General Motors salesmen had taken business away from GE, possibly forever. For labor, the boycott, where it is successful, is a sure-fire way of fouling one's own nest.

During the 1968 political campaign the AFL-CIO picketers carried signs, "Nixon Eats Grapes." Nixon won the election. If the middle class is sufficiently riled by the latest AFL-CIO boycott idiocy, maybe a few congressmen will be elected in 1970 by swearing to their suburban constituents that they will never—no, never—cease to use GE toasters in their kitchens or TV sets in their living rooms.

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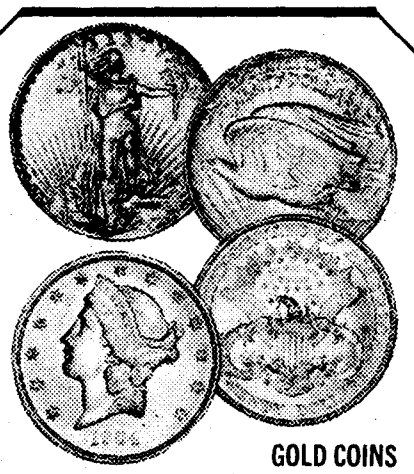

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Mysterious Build-Up of North Korea's Kim; 'Vietnamization' Causes Growing Problems

By PAUL SCOTT

Moscow is directing a worldwide publicity build-up for Kim Il Sung, the tempestuous North Korean dictator.

The well-financed campaign is designed to picture the Soviet-trained Korean marshal as the new Asian Communist hero to replace the late Ho Chi Minh of North Viet Nam.

The stocky, 58-year-old Marshal Kim, who was installed in power in North Korea by the Kremlin at the close of World War II, is also the subject of a "personality cult" rivaling that of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung in China.

Government-controlled press and radio in North Korea now refer to Marshal Kim as the "respected and beloved leader," although his secret police are as much feared in the country as any foreign invader.

As a starter for the publicity build-up, more than a million copies of a biography of Marshal Kim have been printed in a dozen different languages, including English, for distribution throughout the world.

There also has been a parade of Western Communist officials to Pyongyang, the North Korean capital, in recent weeks to discuss the image-building campaign, and pay their respects to the new Asian Red hero.

The timing of Marshal Kim's build-up is as intriguing to American intelligence experts as the massive extent of the publicity campaign.

It comes at a time that Marshal Kim has begun making speeches that the U.S. must be ousted from all Asia and that North and South Korea must be unified under Communist rule. He has made it clear this must be attained by military means.

Marshal Kim has designated 1970 as "the year of war preparedness." In the stilted language of Marxism, this usually means the start of military action.

Recent war preparations in the north, plus the unpreparedness in South Korea, could make this area our next Viet Nam. A new invasion across the 38th parallel would involve 50,000 Americans, who hold 18 miles of the 151-mile Korean front. Although better armed than the South Koreans, the American forces in Korea have been shortchanged in equipment by the Viet Nam war.

According to information gathered by American intelligence sources, Marshal Kim completed a drastic purge recently which put a wartime cabinet in full control of the country.

Army generals were appointed ministers of defense, construction, education, interior and food procurement. The party leadership was also weeded of moderates. All told, an estimated 125 key officials were purged.

North Korean Army training has now shifted from defensive to offensive tactics. Military instruction, particularly air defense, is given to the public in schools, factories and public meetings daily. Even artillery pieces have been furnished to reserve units at every factory with more than 3,000 employes.

Every important military installation has gone underground. All plane hangars, for example, have been moved into caves dug into the sides of mountains. Defense factories have also been assigned to caves or tunnels to which they will move in case of war.

Every family has been instructed to stock emergency supplies—food, seasoning, candles for at least six months. A reported million tons of rice have been stored for wartime use.

North Korea's $500-million budget this year, a staggering amount for such a small impoverished country, represents an increase of 25 per cent over 1968.

The North Korean forces are now equipped with 650 aircraft, including a number of supersonic MIG-21 fighters, a fleet of swift patrol boats armed with torpedoes, and a formidable arsenal of SAMs (ground to air missiles) and heavy Soviet artillery. Their radar and electronic gear are also of the latest Soviet design.

In addition to the regular 375,000-man Army, North Korea has organized a paramilitary force of 13 million men which can be mobilized overnight.

Significantly, none of these preparations for war are being mentioned in the Kremlin's build-up of Marshal Kim.

★ ★ ★

South Viet Nam's military forces are now suffering casualties at the staggering rate of nearly 100,000 a year. The death rate among their casualties is now one-fourth or at a yearly level of 25,000.

These are the highly sobering first results of President Nixon's well-publicized plan for the "Vietnamization" of the war. While the program has helped to reduce U.S. casualties by half, it has resulted in more than doubling those of South Viet Nam.

The projections are based on South Viet Nam's current rate of 2,000 military casualties a week, which includes approximately 500 deaths.

Since these South Vietnamese casualty figures are expected to continue to increase as additional American troops are withdrawn, these findings are being closely studied by President Nixon's advisers.

Most disturbing of the questions is whether the U.S. has the right to continue to dictate the ground rules under which the South Vietnamese must defend themselves as we shift the major burden of the fighting to Saigon.

If the differences in population of the two countries are taken into consideration, this burden is considerable. For example, South Viet Nam's present rate of 2,000 casualties a week would be the same as the U.S. suffering 25,000 casualties a week or 1.25 million a year.

This shifting of the burden of the war already has caused South Vietnamese officials in Saigon to ask American diplomats whether they thought the U.S. would agree to limit its defense to its own territory if their roles were reversed.

To keep casualties from going over the breaking point, these South Vietnamese officials contend, the supply routes of the enemy must again be attacked in North Viet Nam.

If this enemy build-up is permitted to continue, the South Vietnamese stress, it will mean much higher casualties for their own forces in 1970. Any increase above the current 2,000-a-week casualty level, they say, would threaten President Nixon's "Vietnamization" program before it has a chance to really get off the ground.

To avoid this crisis in early 1970, the Saigon government urges that the self-imposed U.S. restriction against bombing infiltration routes in North Viet Nam be lifted immediately.

President Nixon's decision on the Saigon government's request is expected to come soon. As for the South Vietnamese diplomats in Washington, they believe the President's decision will determine whether his Vietnamization policy is designed to help them defend their country or is only a cover for the planned withdrawal of U.S. forces.

The Agnew Flurry

For Once, a Prediction Came True

By FREDERIC NELSON

Most of the time I let my past outpourings remain undisturbed in the files, resting content if nobody bothers to search them. One writes so much over a span of years that some of the output is certain to redden the face as time takes its revenge.

However, right now I can't resist pointing with pride to a piece I wrote for *Human Events*, issue of Aug. 24, 1968, shortly after the Republican National Convention in Miami. The subject was the nomination of Gov. Spiro Agnew of Maryland for the vice presidency, an event which was already churning up a lot of liberal froth in the media. Democrats were pretending to breathe easier now that Nixon had committed political suicide by taking on this unknown "racist." In California the gag began with a newspaper headline, "Nixon Committed to Agnew." Agnew is the name of a mental hospital out there. The joke writes itself. The media revved itself into a hysterical fury which hasn't abated yet.

In the midst of this self-hypnosis my little article in *Human Events* predicted —well, say, semi-predicted—that "Nixon's selection of Agnew will turn out to be one of the smartest moves the candidate has made, because it indicates recognition of the reality that the threat to the GOP comes less from the ersatz independents, or even the poor, than from the harassed, over-taxed, riot-hounded middle class which is coming to regard itself as pretty 'disadvantaged.' "

I also hazarded the guess that Agnew would prove a hard nut for the media to crack and, more brilliantly still, that "he could prove useful as a counterweight to certain phases of the Nixon personality." Mr. Agnew, for example, would be unlikely to trap himself into agreeing to "wipe out hunger," even with $3 billion a year to wipe with.

Having backed so many losers who looked to me like winners, I see no reason to be too humble about this unusual success as a prophet, because look what's happened!

The Agnew easy-going, Maryland-type common sense, which provoked liberal titters and angry tirades, has caught on. Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith remarked with heavy sarcasm to a group of left-liberals that it was a good thing that the vice president is speaking his mind, because we can now see "what his mind is like." Just so, and the American people seem to find nothing to sneer at in what they have learned about Mr. Agnew's mind. The carefully constructed myth of Mr. Agnew as a bungling Sad Sack collapses from exposure to simple honesty.

The late Agnew myth is only one of many worked out by liberal mythologists. Thus Joe McGinnis' book, *The Selling of the President 1968* has charmed liberal reviewers into ecstatic encomia.

The central theme is that Mr. Nixon owes his election to skillful manipulation by his P.R. handlers. Here is Richard M. Nixon who has been hated, admired, sneered at, voted for and voted against for at least a quarter of a century, a man whom a whole generation has been reared to love, fear, hate or be puzzled by.

If there was any American citizen of voting age who lacked information about Nixon in November 1968, he or she must have been holed up in a dark tower on a blasted heath. And yet a book gets on the best-seller list by touting the assumption that public knowledge of Nixon was nil until a group of Madison Avenue experts (including Joe McGinnis, who went along as a spy) smeared grease paint on the candidate's face for the TV cameras and coached him in folksy accents!

Without having too exalted an opinion of popular discrimination, I find it hard to believe that many people will be beguiled into believing that the man they have been watching all these many years never existed at all until a reasonable facsimile was invented by the personality promotion industry. This does not mean that the Liberal Establishment has surrendered or even beat a strategic retreat. The hammering of Mr. Agnew will continue. The treatment for the President will have to be more adroit, but it hasn't been abandoned.

It is here that, as one of the small group of Original Agnew Men, I would interpose some unsolicited advice. Like "Don't push your luck too far!" Let the hatchet men mess around with what you have socked to them already.

Even a man with the truth on his side can bore his best friends if he talks too often. Short annihilating statements when liberal mendacity or desperation create the opportunities could score more points than too many long speeches. Another vice president, Tom Marshall (1913-1921), would be 100 per cent unknown today (instead of 99 per cent) if he had not said "What this country needs is a good five-cent cigar."

The Agnew image has come through, as I figured it would, because the essentially conservative American people have discovered a politician who says things which they wish they could have said themselves. The extraordinary thing is that the smart-alecs on the left are surprised by this response. The media men have been chatting away to each other for so long that they forgot that a few million people listening in have long suspected that something was missing (or added) but were not just sure what. Mr. Agnew supplied some of the right answers and the Silent Majority is no longer tongue-tied.

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Senate Trouble Over Okinawa?

From the ALLEN-GOLDSMITH REPORT

Those plans for returning Okinawa to Japan may still provoke a major controversy in the Senate, and President Nixon is well aware of that.

No hint of trouble was discernible when Japanese Premier Eisaku Sato visited President Nixon here in Washington a couple of weeks ago. The atmosphere was one of friendship when the two leaders issued their joint communique which envisions reversion of Okinawa to Japanese control during 1972.

The communique, however, called for the 1972 deadline, subject to development of specific arrangements for the island's return "with the necessary legislative support." That is where the controversy could arise.

There is strong sentiment in the Senate for return of Okinawa—perhaps enough sentiment to assure approval for any reasonable blueprint to be developed by future consultations. There is, however, some feeling that the island, seized in 1945 by U.S. forces, should not be returned now.

There was a clear and public warning of trouble ahead before Sato arrived for his state visit. The Senate, by a convincing vote of 63 to 14, went on record that any agreement on a change of Okinawa's status should have the "advice and consent of the Senate."

That is language designed to require a treaty, of course, and ratification of a treaty requires a two-thirds vote in the Senate.

The warning of the 63-to-14 vote, on an amendment offered by Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D.-Va.), was not really that a two-thirds vote might not be forthcoming on the Okinawa issue. Some senators who supported the Byrd amendment, as modified in Senate debate, strongly favor return of Okinawa to Japan.

The warning was that the Senate, seeking as never before to assert itself in such national security issues, expects to do so on the question of Okinawa.

Now it is reported that the President had received a private caution as well before he had his formal talks with Sato—a caution which questioned the wisdom of reversion on the 1972 schedule. That warning came early last month when the President sandwiched a private lunch with Senate leaders between impromptu speeches in the House and Senate.

On that occasion, according to informed sources, the President brought up the Okinawa question, and Sato's impending visit, over the luncheon table. The matter was then discussed briefly by the President and the other guests in the office of Democratic leader Mike Mansfield.

Sen. George D. Aiken, (R.-Vt.), the respected GOP "dean" of the Senate, told the President he thought the Senate would support the return of Okinawa to Japan. The same view was expressed, according to our informants, by Chairman J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

However, Sen. Richard B. Russell (D.-Ga.), the influential chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, is reported to have taken a different view. Russell is said to have commented that Okinawa, with its vital bases, should not be returned to Japan while the United States is charged with responsibility for maintaining security in that part of the world.

The President, according to this account, replied—with some senatorial support—that the future of Premier Sato's government was irrevocably tied to securing the return of Okinawa.

Russell is said to have replied by suggesting that Mr. Nixon explore with Sato the response received by Japan when it tried to recover islands in the Kurile group which were given to Russia after World War II.

Sato is reported to have asked, early this fall, that Russia begin talks looking toward the return of those islands. That request was "turned down cold," according to Sen. Byrd.

The implication of the President's advance warnings, public and private, is that the final agreement on Okinawa should be submitted to the Senate as a treaty for ratification. Fulbright is now understood to be urging that course of action on the State Department.

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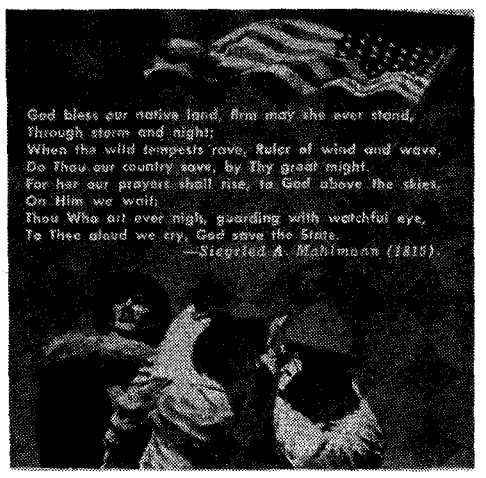
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On Him we wait;
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—Siegfried A. Mahlmann (1815)

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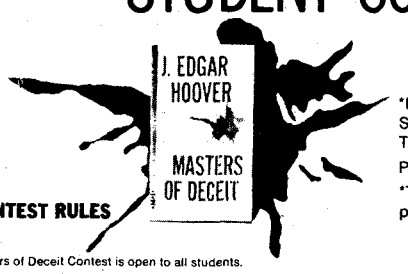

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CONTEST RULES

1. Masters of Deceit Contest is open to all students.
2. Employees and National Board Members of Young Americans for Freedom are not eligible to enter the contest.
3. All contest entries must be postmarked not later than midnight, March 31, 1970.
4. Answers to the 100 true-false questions must be submitted on an official answer sheet.
5. By entering the contest, the contestant agrees to abide by the contest rules and to accept the decisions of the judges as final. Questions concerning the contest will not be discussed by mail or otherwise. Winners will be informed by registered mail approximately eight weeks following the close of the contest.
6. State, federal or other taxes applicable to the awards will be the sole responsibility of the individuals to whom they are granted.

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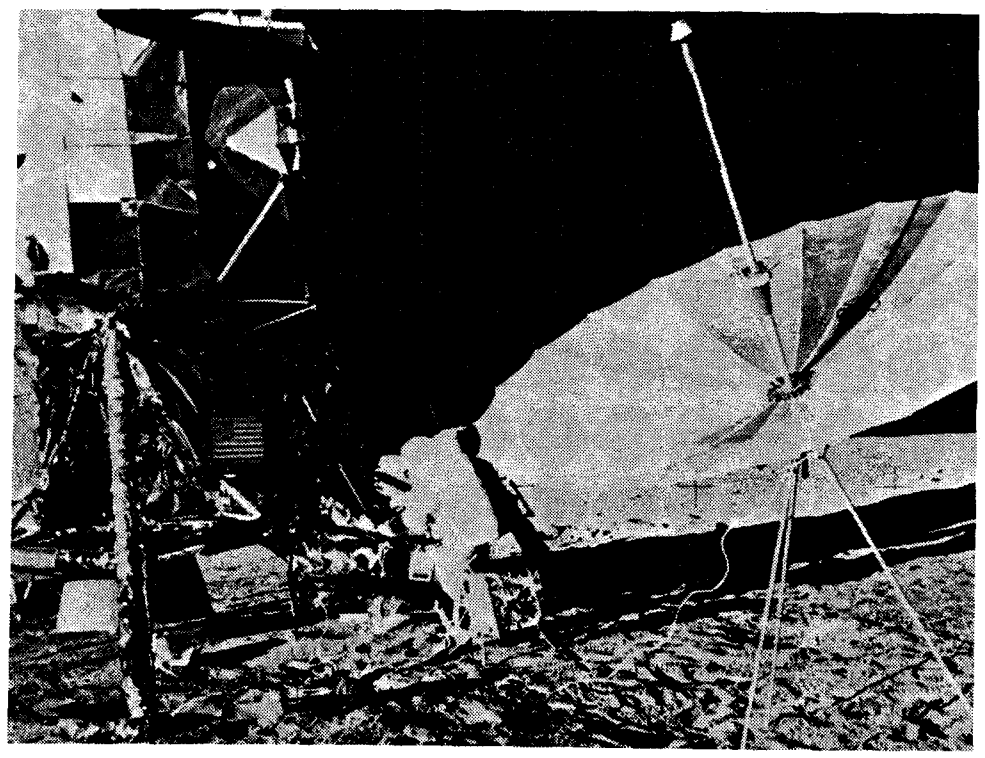

Apollo 12 astronaut Pete Conrad sets up instruments on the lunar surface during America's second moon landing. Mrs. Widener decries the "internationalization" of the lunar project and notes that after all it was the American taxpayer who paid for it.

Let's Keep U.S. Flag on Moon

By ALICE WIDENER

Less than 24 hours after Captains Pete Conrad, Dick Gordon and Alan Bean rode the "Yankee Clipper" back from the moon to a perfect splashdown in the Pacific, the let's-give-away-America clique, with the New York *Times* as mouthpiece, began to clamor against our moon "chauvinism" and "nationalism."

It seems the giveaway clique simply cannot endure an American advantage, anytime, anywhere. The members of the clique are those who tried hard to force our first moon-walkers, Armstrong and Aldrin, to plant a United Nations rather than an American flag on the moon. Only prompt action by Congress ensured that the Stars and Stripes alone would mark the place where our Apollo 11 heroes were the first human beings to set foot.

Immediately after our equally successful Apollo 12 mission, the New York *Times* declared editorially, November 25, that the new opportunity on humanity's agenda "cannot be met adequately by a nationalistic and chauvinistic policy that seeks to keep lunar exploration an American monopoly as long as possible. A vast international cooperative enterprise under the leadership of the United Nations could make a peace planet of the moon—and could vastly further the cause of peaceful cooperation here on earth."

Poppycock! Furthermore, nuts!

The politically impotent, wrangling and bungling United Nations couldn't possibly do better than the United States in making the moon a peace planet. There is not an iota of evidence that the U.N.—composed of 124 members, all nationalistic, some chauvinistic, a few, jingoistic—can pacify anybody, anywhere. In fact, if we Americans didn't foot most of the bills for it, the U.N. probably would have been out of business long ago.

How dare anyone take exception to "an American monopoly" in lunar exploration? Who the hell put up a single penny for our entire multi-billion-dollar NASA operation except us hard-working American taxpayers? Has any nation donated a cent toward our success? It is true that several friendly nations cooperated with us in communications and some other technological operations helpful to NASA. But we put up the funds necessary to obtain this cooperation.

I think we should remember that it was the same compulsive clique, wanting to give away anything and everything really important to our country, who cried out against our "nuclear monopoly" during 1945-1949, decrying "American secrecy" and declaring "science is universal." That was when the Reds didn't have the bomb. The moment they did, our homegrown clique began to talk and write about "the Russians' perfectly understandable desire for secrecy concerning their nuclear defense."

Just imagine what would have happened if the Soviets had been first to put men on the moon! Can anyone fancy, even in wildest imagination, that they would permit criticism of a Russian monopoly or even a whispered word about United Nations' leadership of the Soviet space effort?

The time for us to let Congress know of our iron determination to keep our space exploration 100 per cent American is right now and not a minute later. We took all the risk and put up all the money for Apollo 11 and 12. No American has suggested we try to take title to the moon. But as far as flags and command control are concerned, we are entitled to take the attitude, "Welcome aboard, if you can make it on your own."

There's only one answer the American people should give to a suggestion that we put our moon men under United Nations' bumbling, wrangling, finagling control. That answer is a "No!" loud enough to be heard from here to Mars.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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UDALL AND THE BISON—"Last year in a most incongruous act for such a fervent conservationist, Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall replaced the American buffalo with an abstract design as the emblem on the department's official seal. But thanks to Udall's successor, Walter J. Hickel, that noble, albeit almost extinct, beast has been restored to his rightful prominence on Interior letterheads. We do not presume to speak for the buffaloes in this matter. But for ourselves, we much prefer the traditional bison to a pair of outsized hands clutching a circle and an assortment of triangles."—From the Washington *Evening Star*

The Reign of Terror

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Los Angeles (via carrier pigeon):—In view of the reign of terror launched by Spiro Agnew, this dispatch is not sent through the mails but is being delivered by a trusted courier pigeon who has diplomatic immunity and is thus safe from search and seizure.

Agnew is, beyond argument, a reactionary, in the sense in which Churchill defined that term. "You debate an issue when suddenly your opponent kicks you—and you react. Ergo, you are a reactionary."

I was slow to realize we had been put into a straitjacket by the dictator's savage attack on the sanctity of interpretive reporting—i.e., injecting editorial into news reports—but a local NBC commentator opened my eyes.

The gentleman's voice cracked as he told of his travail in similar crises. Covering the post-war Reich, he sadly noted the effects of the Hitler regime had left the Germans mute on controversial subjects, as though they still feared the Gestapo might pounce on them.

He was overjoyed, naturally, to be summoned back to America but, alas, found he had only jumped from the frying pan into the fire. For it was during the McCarthy period, and thousands of patriotic citizens were being smeared for having secretly joined the Communist party and taken a pledge of allegiance to Russia rather than their own land. And, worse, none dared speak up against this travesty on free inquiry.

At this point, I was moved almost as much as the TV man. For I recalled that when Bertrand Russell took to the air-waves to denounce the senator, it was doubtful more than 30 million heard him. Since our population then was about 150 million, it is clear some 80 per cent of the citizenry were intimidated and feared reprisals if found listening to the address.

They may, it is true, have read it later, together with some glowing tributes to Lord Russell, in such underground publications as the New York *Times*. But they said little about it except in secret conclaves at out-of-the-way places like Madison Square Garden.

Yet repressive as that dark era was, the NBC man hinted that the Agnew era might be far worse. For the Administration was obviously trying to intimidate the media and, if the Fourth Estate caved in, we might be down to only one paper and one TV circuit.

And yet, though the inquisition threatens, there are other brave spirits, too, who risk the tumbrels that may carry them to the guillotine. Virtually all of the media under fire have spoken out fearlessly and reaffirmed their intention of continuing to add liberal additives to the news so the public could digest it better. And they have warned that freedom of speech cannot be maintained unless the Veep is gagged.

How heroic of them to thus speak out for us—but, frankly, we'd rather they wouldn't. Give us the unpolluted news, thank you, and do your sermonizing later. We don't like the taste of the mishmash.

For all Mr. Agnew has done is to point out that the king is naked—which is precisely what the silent majority believes. It has learned to distrust the one-sided news as hawked by TV and other liberal media when it crosses the line of demarcation that separates honest reporting from editorializing. Each has its rightful place—but the merger smells.

As a cub, I was once complimented by my city editor, Herbert Swope of the New York *World,* for a scoop on some charges made by a public figure. But he wouldn't run the story till I had obtained a rebuttal by the man who had been accused.

"That's sound reporting," he said. "Otherwise, the reader gets only one side—and may accept the charges as necessarily true. We may light into the fellow later on the editorial page—but we try to give him a fair shake in the news."

Whatever my assignment, I'd always compare my version with that of the other papers to see if I'd missed any facts—just the facts, ma'am, for editorials then were reserved for the editorial page. And though I now usually appear on the latter, that law still holds in my book.

So, though no apple polisher, I hearby salute William Randolph Hearst Jr. (whose Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner* runs this column) for siding with Agnew against "the slanted coverage of the stuffed shirts who took an undignified pratfall on the Veep's banana peel."

I wish I'd said it half as well.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Haynsworth Questions

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

As a House member, I was not called upon to vote on the Haynsworth confirmation, so I did not study his qualifications in detail. For this reason I will not criticize the result either affirmatively or negatively. Instead, I shall only raise some serious questions.

First, has a standard now been developed which would disqualify any mortal who had committed human error from serving on the High Court? Are nominees to the court to be judged on a standard which very few if any senators could themselves meet?

Second, if it is true that several of Haynsworth's opponents opposed him because he is a Southerner, have we now reached the point where geographic considerations are as significant as judicial qualifications and morality? Is it proper to nominate a man because he lives in a certain part of the nation? Is it any more proper to judge him on that basis?

Third, if it is true that some senators voted against Haynsworth because he was a conservative and was once unfriendly to the civil rights movement, does it mean that a nominee must conform to a specific political philosophy in order to qualify? Because a man has personal convictions, does it follow that they will bias his decisions?

In 1930 Judge John J. Parker was nominated to the Supreme Court by President Hoover. Then, as now, a combination of labor and civil rights workers waged a successful campaign to oppose a nominee. AFL-CIO General Counsel Tom Harris, who testified with George Meany before the Senate in the Haynsworth hearings, said of the Parker rejection: "I agree with you that the attack on Judge Parker. . .was unjustified. But the federation [AFL] succeeded in blocking the confirmation . . .and he served many years thereafter as a pro-labor judge. And if we can get both of the same two results here we will be happy."

Though, as indicated in the hearing record, this statement provoked laughter in the committee room, the question it raises is no laughing matter. Have we now begun a system of choosing our judiciary on the basis of the pressures and counter-pressures which prevail in the political arena? All Americans should ponder this serious question.

A Jug of Wine

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex)

The conjuring of new purposes for which to hand out the American taxpayer's money in the form of foreign aid would tax the imagination of the most imaginative. One of the latest awards was to a Yugoslavian university in the amount of $72,123 "to find out why white wine turns brown, and what can be done about it." How on God's green earth can this expenditure advance our national interest? Anyway, who cares why white wine turns brown? It is still potable for those who want it.

Flag Shortage

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

I am certain that most Americans were as outraged as I was by the hoisting of Communist Viet Cong and North Vietnamese flags at the Washington Monument during the recent so-called Moratorium demonstration in the Nation's Capital, and at the disgraceful attempt to fly one of these flags at the Justice Department.

I decided on the spot to conduct a one-man counterdemonstration by hanging a large American flag in my office window looking out over the Mall toward the monument. It was then that I discovered one indication of how the tide of public sentiment is running in our country.

The House of Representatives' supply room, which orders American flags for constituents of the members, did not have a single one in stock. I had to obtain my flag from another source.

On checking further, I was informed by House officials that the demand for American flags is so great that 18,000 have been sold by the supply room alone so far this year, and a leading flag manufacturer told me his plant simply cannot fill all the orders it is receiving. He added that a number of large corporations across the country which traditionally bought quantities of candy or nuts for resale at cost to their employes during the holiday season are this year purchasing American flags for the same purpose.

All this, of course, is heartening to those of us who are fed up with the efforts of the street anarchists and their misguided followers to dictate from the gutters the future course of this nation.

□□□

DEFENDING ECONOMISTS—"It is a little incongruous to hear of Walter Heller, a Minnesotan, lecturing to Californians at San Francisco about the 'oppressive and repressive' state tax structure here, and recommending changes. His credentials are that he served as chairman of the national Council of Economic Advisers under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. As such, Mr. Heller was one of the architects of the current inflation. And we can't recall that the council did much about oppressive federal taxes. Perhaps former Vice President Alben Barkley had a point when he philosophized: 'An economist is an unemployed financier with a Phi Beta Kappa key on one end of his chain and no watch on the other.'"—From the San Diego *Union*

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BRIGHT SPOT—"At least no one, so far as we know, is claiming that the Students for a Democratic Society are 'agrarian reformers.'"—From the Indianapolis *Star*

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• By the time this column appears the Senate likely will have completed action on its version of the **Tax Reform Act of 1969** (HR 13270). The next step will then be a House-Senate conference to iron out differences in the controversial legislation. Already the Senate has cut the oil depletion allowance from 27 to 23 per cent, appears ready to impose a 40-year life-span on tax-exempt foundations, and last week increased the personal income tax exemption from $600 to $800. This last provision may prove to be the most disputed portion of the multi-faceted bill, as the Administration hotly opposed the exemption increase on the grounds it represented "fiscal irresponsibility." President Nixon, who would have preferred a more long-range exemption hike, charged that the increase to $800 by 1971 would result in too much of a revenue loss too soon and has hinted he might veto the bill as a result. Possibly the exemption increase will be scaled down in the conference committee.

• House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) has decided to support an **increase in Social Security benefits** this year, but to put off further welfare and Social Security reforms until the next session of Congress. As a result, Mills' committee is expected to quickly approve a 15 per cent hike in benefits, as opposed to the 10 per cent increase requested by President Nixon. Elderly people vote regularly and those extra 5 percentage points could mean a lot to the Democrats. This increase, if ratified by the House and Senate, would mean the minimum monthly benefit would jump from $55 to $64 beginning January 1, at an increased annual cost of $4.2 billion; Social Security administrators contend the increase can be financed without raising payroll taxes. Just you wait and see.

• Congress' anti-military spending mood reached down to the House Defense Appropriations subcommittee last week, where a little over $5 billion was slashed from the **Defense Department's fiscal 1970 budget.** In making the cuts the subcommittee, chaired by Rep. George Mahon (D.-Tex.), castigated the Pentagon for its repeated "cost overruns" and impulsive purchasing of unproven weaponry. In total figures, the subcommittee reduced President Nixon's budget request from $75.3 billion to $69.96 billion; no funds, however, were cut from the area of "strategic forces," or, in other words, Viet Nam operations. Reductions did occur in such areas as military personnel (largely among the Washington area headquarters staff), helicopter pilot training, Navy shipbuilding, intelligence operations and the controversial F-14 fighter plane.

• The Administration has now come out in support of repealing that section of the 1950 McCarran-Walter Internal Security Law which authorizes the use of detention camps during periods of "internal security emergency." When Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.) first proposed **repeal of the detention camp provision** earlier this year, the Justice Department indicated it thought the measure was a good one to have around as a possible last resort. Now Deputy Atty. Gen. Richard Kleindienst has written Sen. Eastland that, because of the "fears and suspicions" among "many of our citizens," the detention camp provision should be laid to rest.

• The bill to **extend the life of the Office of Economic Opportunity** was sailing smoothly through the House the other day when a solid bloc of conservative members suddenly shifted the winds. Led by Rep. William Ayres (R.-Ohio), they introduced a substitute measure which would turn virtually all of OEO's anti-poverty projects over to the control of individual states. OEO would still have a voice in drawing up and approving programs, but all real power over the poverty effort would lie with the states. The move took liberal Democratic leaders completely by surprise, and when they realized they did not have the votes to defeat the conservative alternative they persuaded the House Democratic leadership to grant a two-week delay in voting on the OEO bill. The interim period is expected to see a concentrated barrage by the vociferous poverty lobby, aimed at blowing the state-control proposal out of the water. (For more on OEO, see page 3.)

• The Senate Commerce Committee is still deliberating over a piece of legislation which would, in effect, put the government in the business of **subsidizing the nation's railroad industry.** The bill in question would provide the Department of Transportation with $435 million, to be spent over a four-year period to compensate the railroads for losses they suffer in operating trains exclusively for passengers; these payments could go as high as 75 per cent of the loss figure. The secretary of transportation would also be authorized to chart a national rail passenger system, deciding which routes and specific trains to keep in operation.

• President Nixon's controversial proposal for the **preventive detention of criminal defendants** on grounds that they are dangerous has been taken up once more by Congress, on this occasion by a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee. The Senate Judiciary Committee briefly considered its version of the proposal (S 2600) earlier this year, but nothing more has been heard in that chamber. The House bill (HR 12806), like the Senate's, has been attacked in many quarters, including by some conservatives, for the broad discretion it would give judges in deciding which criminals to detain, as well as its possible violation of the 5th Amendment, which says no one is to "be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

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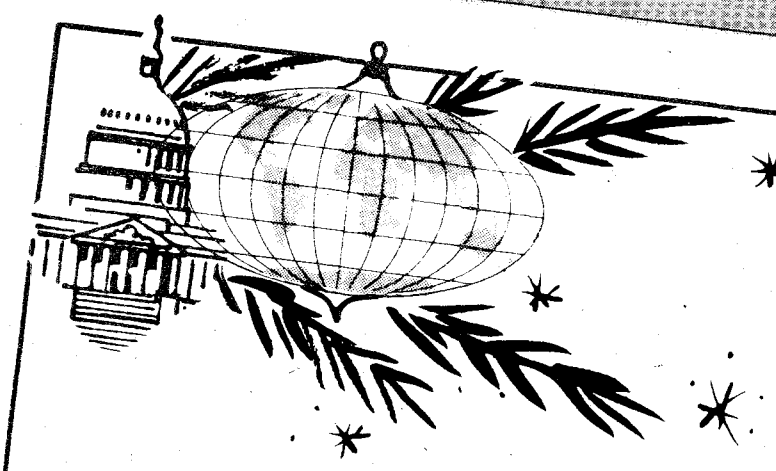

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